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## JEWISH LIFE IN MODERN TIMES





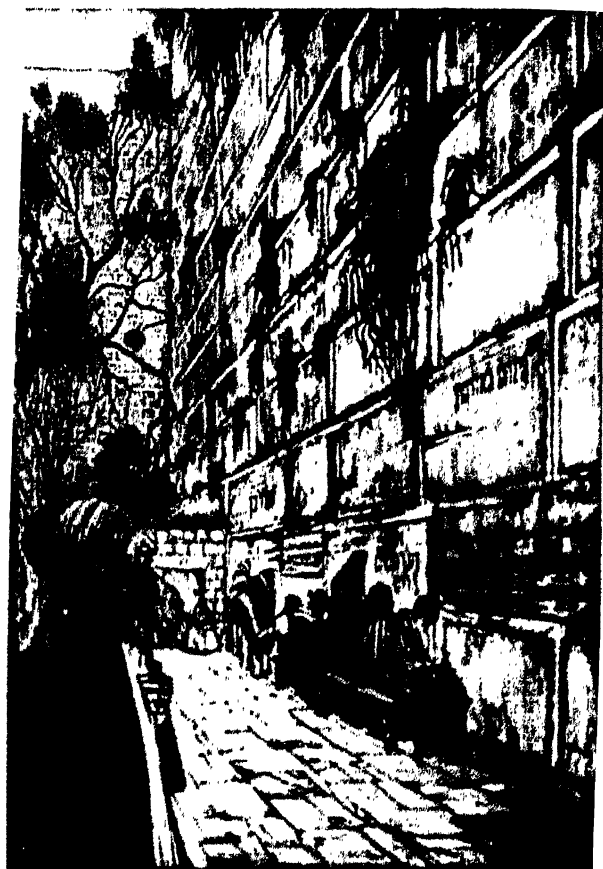


Fig. 1. The street in the city of  
Kashgar, Xinjiang.



# JEWISH LIFE IN MODERN TIMES

BY  
ISRAEL COHEN

WITH FIFTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS AND TWO MAPS

SECOND EDITION  
ENTIRELY REVISED AND LARGELY REWRITTEN



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TO  
MY PARENTS



## PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

THE first edition of this work appeared at the outbreak of the Great War. Since then there have been such manifold and far-reaching changes in the conditions of the Jewish people that many parts of it have become obsolete, and this new edition has therefore necessitated not merely revision but the most extensive alterations in the greater portion of the book. Most of the changes have resulted from the political settlement at the end of the War, particularly as expressed in the transformation of the map of Europe and the assignment to Great Britain of the Mandate for Palestine, whilst these epoch-making events have in turn exercised a varied and determining influence upon all aspects and ramifications of Jewish life. In mere numbers the Jews have grown during the interval from  $13\frac{1}{2}$  to  $15\frac{1}{4}$  millions, an increase that has been accompanied by a marked redistribution in their dispersion, with a steady drift from East to West. All the multifarious changes that have occurred—whether of a material, spiritual, or statistical character—have been carefully traced and described, involving in the case of a few chapters only occasional corrections, whilst several chapters have had to be rewritten for the most part and others again have had to be replaced by entirely new ones.

In the General Survey I have rewritten the chapter on Dispersion and Distribution, giving the latest figures of the Jewish population in all countries, and taken note of the salient developments in the heterogeneous composition of Jewry and the manifestations of its solidarity. In the section on the Social Aspect the revision has been mainly of a statistical nature in the chapters dealing with philanthropy, morality, and racial and physical characteristics, with particular regard to the latest vital statistics. In the section on the Political Aspect the old chapter recounting "Sufferings in Bondage"

(the conditions in pre-War Russia and Rumania) has been replaced by a new one describing the emancipation of Eastern Jewry, with special reference to the provisions of the Minorities Treaties, and the conditions in Soviet Russia, whilst the significant changes and additions in regard to political activity and State service, especially in connexion with the Great War, have all been embodied. Most of the section on the Economic Aspect has been rewritten owing to the fact that vast numbers of Jews are living in the States that were created or recreated, or that were reduced or enlarged in area, as part of the Peace, and that their conditions, especially in Soviet Russia, Poland, and the United States, present peculiar features of interest, both as regards occupation and wealth, whilst the currents of migration from Eastern Europe have been lessened in volume and deflected in direction. Under the Intellectual Aspect have been traced the simultaneous advance of secular education and the promotion of Hebrew culture, and likewise the further notable contributions of all kinds made to general culture and progress. Under the Religious Aspect note has been taken of the conditions of organization and administration in the Jewish communities in the post-War States, as well as of the ceaseless inroads made by mixed marriages and apostasy not only in the West but also in the East. And finally, under the National Aspect, I have re-examined the conflict of the forces of assimilation and conservation, depicted the latter-day aberrations of anti-Semitism, and retold anew the story of the Jewish national movement and of the zealous labours to realize the Zionist ideal in a Jewish Palestine under the provisions of the British Mandate.

In the task of revising and rewriting I have had the advantage of restudying the numerous lengthy notices that were written of the first edition, especially those from the pen of such an authority as the late Joseph Jacobs, by whose instructive criticisms I hope to have profited. I have consulted all the latest authoritative sources, including some publications scarcely known to students in English-speaking countries, such as the *Blätter für Demographie, Statistik, und Wirtschaftskunde der Juden*, which are a veritable mine of well-ordered information on certain aspects of Jewish life in Eastern Europe.

I have also derived considerable knowledge from a systematic reading of the Jewish press of all parts of the world, supplemented by personal correspondence with friends in many countries. And my endeavour to make this survey of contemporary Jewry a faithful and up-to-date reflection of its variegated life has been favoured—though its execution has at the same time been delayed—by the intelligence gathered on the various journeys that I have made during the last ten years not only to all the important and many less important Jewish communities in all parts of Europe, but also to all the Jewries scattered as far as the Farthest East.

*August, 1929*

I. C.





## FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE purpose of this volume is to give a comprehensive account of the conditions of modern Jewry in all their principal manifestations and variations throughout the world. The book was begun some years ago, but its completion has been delayed until now by the exacting demands of other professional work. The delay has not been altogether without advantage, as it has enabled me, during a residence of four years in Germany and visits to other parts of the Continent, to come into closer contact with various aspects of life that I set out to depict, as well as to include some tendencies and developments that are of quite recent origin. The interval that has elapsed since the first chapter was written has witnessed the appearance of several works dealing with Jewish conditions, but each of them has been mainly concerned with only one aspect of Jewish life and approached its study from a special angle of vision. None of them presents a picture of Jewish life as it is, with all its traditional characteristics and customs, its sufferings and its achievements, its foibles and its ideals, and yet without such a portrayal of actual conditions it is scarcely possible fully to appreciate the significance of tendencies and movements that play a leading part in the world of Jewry to-day. One may study the variety of anthropological types among the modern children of Israel, their racial origin and cultural value, their contribution to the advancement of modern commerce, and the processes by which their disintegration as a people is taking place. But unless one is acquainted with the essence of Jewish life, with its primal contents and fundamental bases, one cannot understand the changes that are being wrought in its forms or perceive their significance; unless one realizes the manifold diversity that distinguishes Jews in regard to political status, economic

welfare, and intellectual activity in different lands, and in regard to religious outlook even in the same land, one must fail to appraise local or transitory phenomena at their true worth and likewise to grasp the pregnant import of a movement of world-wide compass.

The purpose of this volume is, therefore, in the first place, to depict the variegated life of the Jewish people at the present day in all its intimacy and intensity, and secondly, to trace the evolution that is being produced by modern forces, or, in other words, to describe the static conditions of Jewry and then to analyse the effects of the dynamic forces to which they are exposed. The widest possible purview has been taken: the whole crowded map of Jewish life has been unfolded, surveyed, and described, with the help of such elucidations from history as are necessary to understand the present situation. First, a General Survey is presented, showing the dispersion and distribution of Jewry in its countless manifestations, its diversity of composition in political and spiritual respects, and the solidarity that unifies its disparate elements. Then follow five main sections, in each of which a leading aspect of life is investigated—the social, the political, the economic, the intellectual, and the religious. Under the Social Aspect are set forth the growth and constitution of the community, the characteristics and customs of the home, social life and amenities, morality and philanthropy, and racial and physical conditions. Under the Political Aspect are related how one-half of the people acquired civil equality, how the other half is still suffering in bondage, and what services Israel has rendered to so many countries both in their government and their defence. Under the Economic Aspect are reviewed the different spheres of commercial, industrial, and professional activity in which Jews are engaged, the contrasts of material welfare and predominance of poverty, and the ceaseless currents of migration from the lands of bondage to the havens of refuge. Under the Intellectual Aspect are considered the advance made by secular education among the Jews, the nature of their national intellectual products in modern times, and the contributions they have rendered to the progress and culture of humanity. Under the Religious Aspect are described their

traditional faith and observance and the growing divergences therefrom, and then the drift and apostasy that are assuming ever more alarming proportions. Finally, the resultant tendency of all the foregoing manifestations is examined under the National Aspect, the strength of the forces of assimilation and absorption is contrasted with the inherent force of conservation, and the realization of the Zionist ideal is urged as the most effective means of ensuring the perpetuation of Israel.

A certain amount of overlapping has been inevitable in the composition of this book owing to the peculiar complexity of Jewish life, but an endeavour has been made to restrict this duplication to the minimum. It has been found impossible to include all the innumerable phases and phenomena of the modern Jewish dispersion, nor would the restricted compass of this volume have permitted such an exhaustive and detailed record ; but I believe that I have brought within the covers of a single book the fullest description yet attempted of all the main aspects and problems of Jewish life at the present day.

*August, 1914*

I. C.



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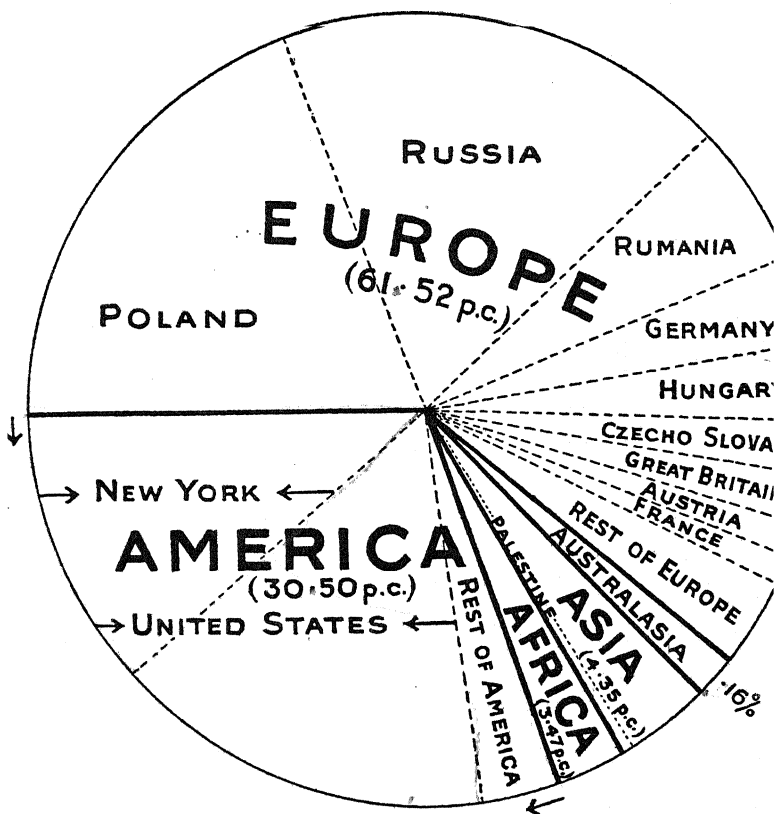


DIAGRAM SHOWING COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION AND PROPORTION TO EACH REGION

“One people ariseth, another disappeareth,  
But Israel endureth for ever.”

*Midrash Commentary on Psalm xxxvi*

# JEWISH LIFE IN MODERN TIMES

## BOOK I A GENERAL SURVEY

### INTRODUCTION

The complexity of Jewish life—The dispersion of Jewry—Principal cause of dispersion—The diversity of Jewry—Its solidarity—Three main aspects to be examined.

**M**ODERN Jewry presents so many aspects of competing interest that in attempting a comprehensive survey of its life and labour one is faced by the difficulty of fixing upon a convenient point of departure. Its social life is moulded by religious observance and diversified by political forces; its economic conditions are fashioned by historic development and geographical incidence and likewise affected by political milieu; its intellectual products bear the impress of racial characteristics and national experiences; and its spiritual tendencies are governed not only by faith and tradition, but also by the subtle influence of social, political, and intellectual forces; whilst the alluring riddle of the future of the Jew can be solved, if solved at all, only by a careful study of all these spheres of life and labour. But these various spheres intersect one another so repeatedly that it is difficult to investigate any one in strict isolation, and yet an orderly inquiry demands their separate treatment. We shall be in a better position, however, to embark upon a detailed investigation of each aspect and to attempt the task of unveiling the future if we previously make a general survey of the vast and variegated world of Jewry, noting its main and most distinctive characteristics.

The first impression conveyed by our domain is the extensive dispersion of its inhabitants, reaching from one end of

the globe to the other. Numerous as the Jewish communities are in Eastern Europe, numerous as they also are in North America, neither one region nor the other must eclipse from our sight the existence of countless other colonies in all parts of the world. In every country of Europe, in North and South Africa, in most of the countries in Asia from Palestine to Japan, in most of the populous centres of Australasia, and in many of the newly developed states in South America, there are communities, in compact masses or meagre groups, which still preserve in varying degree a life distinct from that which surrounds them—treasuring the laws of Mount Sinai and hallowing the customs of ancient Judæa. In the swarming Ghettos of Poland, where piety, pathos, and poverty commingle; in the fashionable suburbs of Paris and New York, Berlin and London, redolent of wealth and culture, in the ancient cities of Jerusalem and Damascus, Rome and Alexandria, and in the modern cities of Johannesburg and Buenos Ayres, Montreal and Melbourne; on the banks of the Rhine, the Ganges, and the Missouri, and beneath the mountain-ranges of the Andes, the Alps, and the Himalayas; in the steppes of Siberia, the cave-dwellings of Tripoli, and the backwoods of Australia, in the mining-camps of the Transvaal and the prairies of the Argentine; in all these diverse centres of civilization, old and new, great and small, refined and rude, scattered promiscuously over the face of the earth, the prayers of “the chosen people” are still uttered in the language of the Psalms and the memory of ancestral deeds of glory and martyrdom is cherished with pride and celebrated with the rites of hoary tradition.

The principal cause of this dispersion, which has now attained greater dimensions than at any previous period, has been persecution. The banishment of the Jews from their own or their adopted home was the cause of their wanderings in ancient and mediæval times; and political intolerance in various forms is the chief motor force in their migrations at the present day. In point of numbers their migration in modern times, particularly during the last fifty years, by far exceeds that of their previous history, and it is attended by a tragedy not less poignant, if less violent, than that which marked a mediæval expulsion. In former times the tide of migration flowed from west to east; in our days it flows from east to west. The spirit of enterprise and adventure, which is chiefly responsible for the dispersion of modern nations and the founding of their colonies, has manifested itself only in a

minor degree in the annals of Israel. Occasionally it has combined with the force of persecution in directing the footsteps of the Jew away from those lands which he has favoured most, England and the United States, to remoter havens of refuge in Argentina, South Africa, and Australasia. But the spirit of enterprise, as the sole stimulus of migration, has operated only among those who have long been settled in Western countries and who have been prompted by economic motives to try their fortunes in new and distant lands.

Vast as is our domain, it is utterly lacking in homogeneity. To the outward eye nearly all Jews are alike, if not exactly in physical appearance yet by virtue of an indefinable racial trait, pervasive yet elusive. In reality, however, they are marked by a number of differences that sharply divide them into distinct classes. The differences are not merely of social and political status, nor of religious ritual and conformity, nor of spiritual tendency and intellectual outlook, nor of communal organization, nor of the appearance of the individual type, nor of assimilation to environment. The diversity is not confined to any one of these spheres or factors : it prevails in each and every one, and in combinations of all, in varying degrees. The resultant types baffle enumeration, and their number and complexity are increasing from year to year in proportion to the advance of emigration, education, emancipation, and assimilation. The chief line of division, roughly separating the Jews of the East from those of the West, may be drawn in a semicircle across the map of Europe, with Libau and Tangier as the extremities of the diameter. The Jews of the East, living mostly in lands of intolerance and primitive development, are distinguished by their religious and intellectual conservatism ; the Jews of the West, including those of the Southern Hemisphere, enjoy varying degrees of political liberty and display different standards of religious and intellectual liberalism. In addition to these broad differences there is a diversity of attitude towards nationalist aspirations, and as each country is not only differentiated in many respects from other countries but also has its own array of peculiar types, it is manifest enough that modern Jewry is not a homogeneous organism but an elaborately differentiated society, composed of disparate types and animated by conflicting tendencies.

But despite this dispersion and diversity there is a bond of union. It is the racial sentiment, born of the consciousness of a common origin, a common history, and common sufferings.

However acute the divisions may be on the merits of orthodoxy, or on the virtue of the Zionist ideal, they are levelled by the influence of the past which generates a spirit of solidarity, welding the disparate units into a harmonious whole. The racial consciousness is keenest in the religious Jew, but long after the prayers and rites of the Synagogue have ceased to make an appeal it still survives and can even be transmitted for a generation or two. In abnormal times, as when Jews are the victims of a massacre in Russia or of a riot in an Eastern country, it is evinced in the speedy despatch of aid to the sufferers and in the prompt invocation of Government intervention. Scattered among all the lands of the earth, without a political centre or spiritual suzerain, the Jews are united by a bond of racial solidarity which is tested and strengthened in times of need.

Modern Jewish life thus presents three main features: extensive dispersion, diversity of composition, and solidarity. Each of these features will now be examined more fully.

## CHAPTER I

### DISPERSION AND DISTRIBUTION

Difficulty of ascertaining the exact number of Jews—Their increase through the centuries—Distribution among the continents—Apparent multitude and real paucity in each country—The number in Russia before and after the War—Distribution in Poland—Rumania, Germany, Hungary, Great Britain, and the rest of Europe—Asiatic countries—Communities in Africa—The Jews in America, especially the United States—The largest Jewish community—Settlements in Australasia.

IT is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Jews in the world, as only in a comparatively few countries in which there is a regular Government census is note taken of distinctions of religion and ethnical nationality.<sup>1</sup> These countries are for the most part those in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe, and they also include Canada, South Africa, India, and Australasia. In other regions we have to depend upon estimates made either by the Government authorities or by the local Jewish communities. Moreover, even in those lands where a census of Jews is taken it is carried out in different years, whilst there is a constant element of instability in the Jewish population of certain countries owing to movements of migration. Thus, the utmost that we can arrive at is only an approximation.

The total number of Jews in the world at the present day amounts to about 15½ millions.<sup>2</sup> This is the highest figure that they have ever reached in their history, and yet it forms only about a hundred and twentieth of the entire population of the globe. Their numbers have undergone a remarkable development during the last nineteen centuries, for whilst at the time of the downfall of their State in the first century the Jews were estimated to consist of about 4½ millions, they were

<sup>1</sup> In Central and Eastern Europe nationality means membership of an ethnical group as distinct from citizenship (or political nationality), which is its meaning in Western Europe. Hence the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe are required to furnish particulars in the census papers of their nationality as well as their citizenship. The Jews there are regarded as constituting a nationality of their own whilst recognized as full-fledged citizens of their respective countries, but a small minority, even though acknowledging their religion, disown their Jewish nationality, which they consider to have been extinguished by their political nationality or citizenship. The census returns therefore usually show a discrepancy between the number of Jews belonging to the Jewish nationality and the number acknowledging adhesion to Judaism.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, "Statistics of the World's Jewish Population."

believed to have been reduced by the middle of the seventeenth century to only about one million. This tremendous decline was due to a succession of destructive forces, such as massacres, disease, wholesale baptism, and heavy infantile mortality, which were characteristic of the Jewish vicissitudes throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages. In the course of the eighteenth century the numbers of the Jewish people rose to 3 millions, and by the end of the nineteenth century they had reached 10 millions. Their growth during the first quarter of the twentieth century, when they increased by 50 per cent, shows an advance that is all the more notable in view of the appalling losses that were sustained in the Great War and the numerous pogroms both before and after the War.

Although Asiatic by origin, with a continuous history of over three thousand years on Asiatic soil, the Jews are concentrated mostly in Europe, whither they gravitated after the downfall of Judæa in 70 C.E. In this continent they number 9,363,590, which is a little over three-fifths of the entire Jewish population, whilst in Asia they number only 662,293. Thus, in the continent which gave them birth and which witnessed the first and highest efflorescence of their genius, the Jews are now represented by little more than a twenty-fifth of their total number. In the New World, which Columbus discovered with their material aid in the year in which they were expelled from Spain, there are now 4,640,748, of whom fully nine-tenths are domiciled in the United States. In Africa there are 527,914, and in Australasia 24,189.

During the last thirty years there has been an enormous redistribution of the Jewish population as between Europe and America, in consequence of the vast migration from the one to the other, with the result that the proportion in Europe has declined in this period from 83 to 61 per cent, whilst in America it has risen from 9 to 30 per cent. The first reliable estimate of the world's Jewish population was not possible until 1897, when a census was first made of the Jews in Russia, who then formed one-half of the total number, and the changes that have since taken place may be seen from the following comparative table :

	1897		1928	
	Total Number	Percentage	Total Number	Percentage
Europe . . .	8,652,000	83·66	9,363,590	61·52
America . . .	986,000	9·53	4,640,748	30·50
Asia . . .	406,000	4·00	662,293	4·35
Africa . . .	282,000	2·73	527,914	3·47
Australasia . .	16,000	·08	24,189	·16
	<hr/> 10,342,000	<hr/> 100·00	<hr/> 15,218,734	<hr/> 100·00



The most notable feature in the distribution of the Jews over the earth's surface is the unevenness of density. In some regions there are compact and congested communities which seem wholly composed of Jews ; in others the appearance of a Jew is sufficiently rare to be a curiosity. This phenomenon is not confined to any particular continent ; it is characteristic of nearly every country in the world. The gregariousness of the Jews, apart from historical and psychological considerations, has given them a position of prominence on the stage of the world far exceeding that proportionate to their numbers. For even in the countries in which their numbers are highest, namely, the United States and Poland, they form less than 4 per cent of the total population in the former and only 10 per cent in the latter ; but their residence is mostly confined to certain parts of either country, where political and industrial life is most vigorous, and where public opinion is most vociferous, and hence their compact solidity in these busy pulsating centres conveys an impression of numerical magnitude which is utterly belied by their real paucity. In Western Europe the Jews bear an even smaller proportion to the general population, forming less than 1 per cent in most of the principal countries ; but here likewise they are largely concentrated in the capitals and the great cities, whose local problems bulk upon the national horizon to an inordinate extent, and whose Jewish inhabitants seem to those who mould public opinion to reflect a similar populousness throughout the country. In addition to this physical crowding into the main centres of national life there are special circumstances that make the Jews seem far more numerous than they really are, namely, the inevitable prominence of a different racial type and their participation and success in callings, such as the law, politics, the arts, the press, and the Stock Exchange, which enjoy an undue measure of public attention.

Previous to the Great War the centre of gravity of Jewry lay in the Russian Pale of Settlement, which, situated between the Baltic and the Black Sea, then contained six million Jews. The territorial changes that have since taken place have resulted in the Jewish population of Russia being reduced to less than half of its former number, the majority being distributed among the new States that have arisen along her western frontiers and a part falling to Rumania, through the latter's annexation of Bessarabia. According to the census in Russia carried out in 1920, there were altogether 2,744,757 Jews in all the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics, forming only 2.1 per

cent of the total population, as compared with 4.97 per cent, which the Jews formed of the total population of the old Russian Empire. The largest section was contained in the Ukraine, namely, 1,772,479, forming 64.6 per cent, whereas before 1914 the Jews in the Ukraine formed only 36 per cent of the Jews in Russia. In consequence of the Great War and of the massacres that followed it there has been a considerable redistribution of the Jewish population, the general movement being in the direction of the large towns both from the small towns and the villages. The principal motives that have prompted this internal migration have been the quest of physical security and better economic opportunity, whilst there has been a natural tendency to take advantage of the liberty of movement which had been so rigorously prohibited under the Tsardom. Thus, the number of Jews in certain cities, such as Kiev and Kharkoff, has grown to three and even four times as large as it was ten years ago; and, on the other hand, there are over forty towns—once the scenes of the most terrible blood-baths—where there are either no Jews any longer or their number has been reduced to a mere fraction of what it was before.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian census of 1920 was conducted at a time when the Jews were still dazed by the effects of the massacres, when communications were still defective and unreliable and certain districts could not be investigated properly, and hence its results can be regarded as only approximate. According to later official figures, published in 1927, the number of Jews in the Soviet Union is 2,600,945. In the thirty years that have elapsed since 1897 the number of Jews within the territory of the Soviet Union has increased only by about 4 per cent, whilst the general population has increased by nearly 40 per cent. The official explanation attributes this glaring disparity to the large Jewish emigration to America and other countries; it is discreetly silent concerning the heavy casualties due to pogroms. Of the latest total there are 1,750,000 Jews in the Ukraine, and of these as many as 353,000 are domiciled in villages,<sup>2</sup> but there is no country district in which they constitute more than 5 per cent of the general population. The largest communities are those in Odessa, with 190,135 Jews (44.4 per cent of the total population), Kiev, with 128,141 (32 per cent), and Moscow, with 86,171 (5.7 per cent).

<sup>1</sup> See the article "Die Juden in der Ukraine," a detailed statistical investigation, by J. Coralnik, in *Blätter für Demographie, Statistik, u. Wirtschaftskunde der Juden*, No. 3, pp. 126-145, and No. 4, pp. 260-274 (Berlin, 1923 and 1924.)

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, July 9 and 27, 1927.

Poland, according to the census of 1921, contains 2,845,364 Jews, forming 10·5 per cent of the total population, which is a higher ratio than in any other country of the world except Palestine.<sup>1</sup> As the census was carried out at a time when Poland was still suffering from the effects both of the Great War as well as of the war with Russia, and there was a profound distrust among the people of the new Republic as regards its purpose (further mobilization being feared), there was a tendency to concealment on the part of those not belonging to the Polish nationality (especially the Ukrainians, who conducted an agitation to boycott the census). Hence the general results, showing a total population of 27,192,674, can hardly be regarded as accurate, although the figures relating to the Jews, who are a preponderantly urban element, probably possess a greater degree of reliability. Nearly one-fourth of the Jewish population is concentrated in the six cities of Warsaw (322,185), Lodz (156,040), Lemberg (76,650), Vilna, Cracow, and Lublin. The tendency of the Jews to crowd together in the towns is illustrated by the fact that in the twelve main urban districts they form from 26 to 59 per cent of the local population,<sup>2</sup> whilst in the smaller towns their proportion ranges from 18 to 52 per cent. Galicia alone contains over one-fifth of the Jews of Poland, namely, 589,327, which, compared with 714,310 in 1910, represents a decline of 17·5 per cent (as against a fall of only 6·5 per cent in the general population), a diminution that is due to the scourge of the Great War and the recurring invasions and epidemics, from which many Jews sought refuge in Vienna, Czernowitz, and Czecho-Slovakia.<sup>3</sup>

Rumania, which, before the Great War, had only 250,000 Jews, has since increased that number to about 900,000, owing to the annexation of Transylvania, the Banat, the Bukovina, and Bessarabia, all of which have a considerable Jewish population. The largest communities are those in Czernowitz, Kishineff, and Bucharest, which are said to contain from 50,000 to 80,000 Jews each.<sup>4</sup> Germany, on the other hand, now has a smaller Jewish population, namely, 564,379, as compared with 615,029 before the War. This diminution is due mainly to the

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish population of Poland is now commonly estimated at 3 millions.

<sup>2</sup> They are 59·4 per cent in the Volhynia district, 53·2 in the Polesia district, 49·3 in the Lublin district, 48·3 in the Novogrodek district, 47·2 in the Bialystok district, 40·3 in the Tarnopol district, and over 33 per cent in the districts of Warsaw, Lodz, Kelce, Lemberg, Stanislavov, and Tarnopol.

<sup>3</sup> See article on "Die Juden in Galizien," by J. Minzin, in *Blätter für Demographie, Statistik, u. Wirtschaftskunde d. Juden*, No. 3, pp. 174-178 (1923).

<sup>4</sup> More definite figures are not ascertainable.

loss of territory, but even within Germany's present frontiers there has been an increase of the Jewish population since 1910 of only 5.5 per cent, as compared with an increase of 8 per cent of the general population, a disparity that has caused doubt to be thrown upon the accuracy of the Jewish figures, although it has been explained by some writers as due to the loss through mixed marriages.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Prussia and Saxony, almost all the other parts of the German Reich have witnessed a notable decline of the Jewish population, the fall in Bavaria being as much as 10 per cent. The Jews in Germany form less than one per cent of the total population, but nearly one-third, 172,676, are concentrated in Berlin, where they constitute 6.25 per cent of the population.<sup>2</sup>

Next comes Hungary with 477,432 Jews, of whom nearly one-half are in Budapest, where they form as much as 23.2 per cent of the population. Czecho-Slovakia has 354,342, of whom rather less than a tenth are in the capital, Prague. Great Britain, where we must still content ourselves with an estimate, has about 310,000, of whom far more than half are in London (175,000), and more than a fourth in the three cities of Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool. Austria, which, before the War, had nearly 1½ million Jews (exclusive of Hungary), has now only 230,000, of whom 201,513 are concentrated in Vienna, where they are over 10 per cent of the population. France, which has offered a friendly asylum to Jews from Eastern Europe during the past decade, is reputed now to have a Jewish population of 200,000, some two-thirds being domiciled in Paris. Lithuania has 160,000, of whom 25,000 are in Kovno; Holland has 150,000, of whom nearly a half are in Amsterdam; Latvia has 100,000, of whom two-fifths are in Riga; and Turkey has 100,000, who are mostly concentrated in Constantinople.

Of the remaining countries in Europe, Yugoslavia has 80,000, of whom nearly a fourth are in Sarajevo (8,000), Zagreb, and Belgrade; Greece has now only 75,000, of whom 48,000 are in Salonica—a big drop from the 80,000 who, in pre-War days, made it a predominantly Jewish city; Belgium has 60,000, of whom Brussels contains a third and Antwerp a little more than

<sup>1</sup> The question of the Jewish population in Germany has been much discussed in that country: see especially the articles by Prof. L. K. Goetz in *Jüdische Rundschau*, May 3 and June 24, 1927, and the articles by J. Coralnik in *Ose-Rundschau*, March, 1928 (Berlin), and by Dr. F. A. Theilhaber, Nov, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> The official returns are considered to be below the actual figures of the Jewish population in Berlin, the difference being attributed to the omission by many Jews to answer the questions as to religion in the census forms.

a third ; Italy has 50,000, of whom Rome contains a fifth ; Bulgaria has 43,000, of whom Sofia has about a half ; and Switzerland has 24,000. The State of Dantzic has over 9000, Sweden and Denmark about 6000 each, Estonia and Spain under 5000 each, whilst Finland, Norway, Portugal, and Luxembourg have each less than 2000.

The Jews in Asia number only 662,293, an insignificant fraction of the teeming millions in that vast continent. Less than a fourth (160,000) live in Palestine, where they form 18 per cent of the general population, a higher proportion than is to be found in any other country in the world. Nearly one-third of the Jews in Palestine (50,000) are in the contiguous cities of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv, and almost the same number are in Jerusalem. Asiatic Russia has 170,000, and Asiatic Turkey only about 70,000, of whom about half live in Smyrna. Iraq has 90,000, of whom 50,000 are concentrated in Bagdad, and Persia has 60,000, of whom 8,000 are in Teheran. In Syria there are 35,000 ; in Arabia, 25,000 ; and in India 22,500, of whom more than a half are in the State of Bombay. China has 15,000, of whom there are 10,000 in Harbin alone ; Afghanistan has 5000,<sup>1</sup> Aden 4000, and the Dutch East Indies 2000. In Palestine, Asiatic Russia, and China, the Jewish population is largely composed of European immigrants who began to settle in those countries from the middle of the nineteenth century, whilst the Sephardic communities in India, Singapore, and Shanghai, have largely originated from Iraq. In the other parts of Asia the Jews have formed a constant element since the early centuries of the current era, their first notable migration eastward from Palestine having been due to deportation after the destruction of the first Temple, more than two thousand years ago. The Jews of Cochin claim to have come to Malabar from Jerusalem, soon after its downfall in the year 70, whilst the now defunct Jewish colony in Kai-Fung-Foo had a tradition that Jews first entered China under the Han dynasty, during the reign of Han Ming-Ti, 58-76 C.E.

The Jews in Africa amount to 527,914, of whom fully three-fourths inhabit the countries along the north coast. Their settlement in this region, irrespective of the period of bondage in the Egypt of the Pharaohs, took place two thousand years ago. The communities are to be found at their densest in Morocco, which, in the three zones (French, Spanish, and

<sup>1</sup> Most reference-books credit Afghanistan with 18,000, but a native Jew of that country who visited London last year assured me that there were not more than 5000.

International), contains altogether 160,000, one-fourth being concentrated in Casablanca (17,500), Marrakesch (12,500), and Tangier (10,000). In Algeria there are 85,000, and in Tunis 65,000. Egypt also contains 65,000, of whom 30,000 are in Alexandria and 25,000 in Cairo; and Tripolitania has 40,000. Abyssinia contains an ancient community, who trace their history back to the days of the Temple and their origin to the visit paid by the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon. Their numbers have been estimated by Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch, who has made several explorations of the country since 1904, at 50,000.<sup>1</sup> In the neighbouring territory of Kenya there is a small colony of 150 Jews, who have emigrated thither either direct from Europe or from South Africa.

In South Africa itself there is a thriving community, which numbered 62,103 at the last census,<sup>2</sup> consisting almost entirely of immigrants from Europe and their descendants, of whom more than a third are concentrated in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The founders of the community made their way to the Cape in the early part of the nineteenth century, and were pioneers in the industrial development of nearly the whole interior of the country.<sup>3</sup> The great influx of Jews into this region, however, did not take place until the outbreak of persecutions in Russia in the early 'eighties, the majority coming from Lithuania; and they are now to be found in hundreds of towns throughout the Union of South Africa, extending from the Cape to the farthest outposts in the interior.

The Jews in North and South America number 4,640,748, and form the second largest continental aggregation. Their connexion with America began even before its discovery, for they were the authors of astronomical works and scientific instruments that helped Columbus to direct his course, they supplied a great deal of the money that made his voyage possible, and at least five persons of Jewish blood accompanied him on his first voyage. The theory has even been advanced that Columbus himself was of Jewish blood, but it has not been proved.<sup>4</sup> The coincidence of his discovery of the New World with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain seems as obvious an act of Providence as any that historians can demonstrate. The phenomenon has often been noted by those who have chronicled the wanderings of Israel, but the first to refer to it

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. Faitlovitch, *Quer durch Abessinien*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> In 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Jewish Pioneers of South Africa*, by Sidney Mendelssohn, in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Vol. VII, pp. 180-205.

<sup>4</sup> See the article "Columbus" in the *Jüdisches Lexicon*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1927).

was Columbus himself in his journal, a letter written to his Jewish patron, Santangel. The coincidence, striking as it is, should not blind us, however, to the fact that Jews contributed in brains and money to the discovery of their new land of refuge. Moreover, one of their number, Luis de Torres, who accompanied Columbus as an interpreter, is believed to have been the first European to tread the soil of America.

The first migration of Jews to the New World took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when exiles from Spain settled in Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and other parts of South America. A hundred and fifty years later the descendants of other exiles, who had fled to Holland and built up the important community of Amsterdam, emigrated to New Amsterdam, where they formed the nucleus of the still more important and numerous community of New York. The wars in Central Europe in the eighteenth century, culminating in the partition of Poland, drove another host of emigrants, mostly from Germany and Poland, across the Atlantic. But all these successive migrations, even down to the middle of the nineteenth century, did not contribute any very considerable addition to the population. Not until 1882, when an epidemic of massacres broke out among the Jews in Russia, did the volume of emigration attain imposing dimensions. From that year until the outbreak of the Great War the tide of Jewish migration from Eastern Europe flowed without pause, increasing in strength with every fresh outbreak of persecution, but after finding renewed vigour after the War it was checked by the restrictive legislation of the United States. Before the 'eighties the Jewish population of America was less than half a million : now it amounts to more than nine times that number.

The inequality that marks the distribution of the Jews in the Old World also characterizes their settlement in the New World. The overwhelming bulk live in the United States, while smaller communities have developed in Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and almost all of the southern republics. In the United States the Jewish population, which in 1897 was only 937,800, was estimated in 1927 to be 4,228,029.<sup>1</sup> There are Jews in over 6000 places throughout the country, and their density is greatest in the northern states and in Maryland, Delaware, and the district of Columbia. The city of New York alone contains 1,873,390 Jews, who form 23 per cent

<sup>1</sup> See the elaborate and detailed account by Dr. H. S. Linfield of the investigation he made of the Jewish population in the United States, in the *American Jewish Year Book* for 1928-29 (pp. 101-198).

of the total population. It can boast not only of the largest Jewish community in the world, but of the largest known in the entire annals of Jewish history. The dimensions of this vast colony may be appreciated from the fact that it contains more Jews than the eleven largest Jewish communities in Europe put together, namely, Warsaw, Budapest, Vienna, Odessa, Berlin, London, Lodz, Kiev, Moscow, Paris, and Amsterdam. There are several other cities, too, with large Jewish communities: Chicago has 325,000 Jews (which is more than in Great Britain), Philadelphia 270,000, Boston 90,000, whilst there are seven other communities with over 50,000 Jews in each.

In Canada we find the largest Jewish community on British territory outside Great Britain. It now has 140,000 Jews, of whom half are in Montreal (44,000) and Toronto (35,000). Argentina, which, before the War, had only 55,000 Jews, now has 200,000, of whom 100,000 are in Buenos Ayres. Next comes Brazil with 34,000, Mexico with 15,000, Cuba with 10,000, and Chile with 5,000, whilst smaller communities exist in the other southern states as well as in the West Indies and Central America.

Australasia, the last of the continents to be colonized, contains only 24,189 Jews, of whom 2,567 are inhabitants of New Zealand. The largest community is that of Sydney, which has 8000 Jews, whilst Melbourne comes next with 6000. In Perth there are over 2000, and the numbers in the other cities are smaller. The settlement of the Jews in Australasia began in the early part of the nineteenth century, but it did not attain considerable proportions—in relation to local conditions—until the discovery of gold in 1851. The earliest immigrants originated from England, and most of the subsequent settlers also proceeded from this country, including of late years many Russian Jews.<sup>1</sup> But the children of Israel are to be found not only in Australia and New Zealand but also in the Fiji Islands (where they have an organized community at Suva), and in many of the larger islands of the Pacific.

<sup>1</sup> For fuller information see the author's *Journal of a Jewish Traveller* (John Lane, 1925).



## CHAPTER II

### DIVERSITY OF COMPOSITION

Diversity the result of dispersion—The main difference distinguishing the Jews of the East from those of the West—Differences between Eastern and Western Europe—Characteristics of Eastern Europe—Religious tendencies in Western Europe and America—Zionism and other forms of nationalist aspiration—Forces of dissolution: in economic, political, social, and intellectual life.

THE great diversity that characterizes modern Jewry is the natural result of its dispersion throughout the globe. Although united by community of religion and culture, the Jews present notable differences of physical type and intellectual tendency. This differentiation is produced by the influence of their several environments, which vary from one another in physical, political, and intellectual conditions, and effect corresponding variations among their Jewish denizens. But the Jews of any particular country, although exposed to the same general influences, are not moulded into a uniform pattern. Having settled in the land at different periods, and having brought from their previous homes different modes of life and different degrees of conservatism, they resist the surrounding influences with unequal will and strength and exhibit varying grades of assimilation to the general population. In each individual country, therefore, there is a series of classes or types of Jews, shaded off from one another, and thus the multiplicity of types in the world forms an almost endless series.

The main difference is that which distinguishes the Jews of the East from those of the West, though these terms must not be taken in a strictly geographical sense. The Jews of the East are those living in the countries of Asia, North Africa, and Eastern Europe. Settled in lands that have known comparatively little progress for hundreds of years, cut off from the stimulating forces of modern thought and civilization, they have remained for the most part in the same stage of culture as their remote ancestors. The Jews of Asia Minor, Persia, and Arabia, probably differ in physiognomy only in a faint degree from the contemporaries of Judas Maccabæus, while those settled along

the southern shore of the Mediterranean can also have undergone little change owing to their living in compact, congested communities. From the days when the Rabbis of the schools of Babylon mapped out minutely the religious life of the Jew, these Eastern communities have shown unswerving loyalty to Talmudic law and traditional custom. Only once, in the eighth century, did a revolt break out against the Rabbinical code, but the sectarians, who proclaimed their adhesion to the letter of the Scriptures and are known as Karaites, were never numerous. Their numbers are estimated at the present day at 12,000, of whom 10,000 are in Russia and Poland. But the bulk of Eastern Jewry remained stationary and stagnant, save for its natural increase, until roused from its long slumber over sixty years ago by the educational efforts of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," supplemented later by the Anglo-Jewish Association and the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden."

Quite a different spectacle is presented by the Jews of the West, who have continuously displayed intellectual activity for the last twelve hundred years. Not only have they produced a voluminous literature of theology, poetry, and philosophy, besides works of travel, history, satire, and imagination, but even in the days of political outlawry they distinguished themselves as devotees of science, particularly in the realms of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics. At the present day, in every country of Western Europe, in America, and in the British Dominions, Jews are participating in the general life of their environment, in its social and political affairs, its industrial and commercial activity, and its intellectual labours. It is just because their share in the national life of their country, especially where they enjoy complete emancipation, has developed to such a high degree, that a complexity has been wrought in their own life. Moulded by an infinitude of competing influences in their several centres, despite their inherited instincts and ideas, they acquire a varied outlook upon Judaism, develop differences of religious creed and conformity, and maintain conflicting views upon their duty towards their race and upon its destiny.

An exhaustive enumeration of all the types and tendencies among Western Jewry would be impossible in a preliminary survey: the utmost that can be attempted is to trace the main forces making either for the absorption or the preservation of the race. Such a survey is best conducted from east to west, from Eastern Europe, where political oppression has caused

the social isolation of Jewry, to Western Europe and other parts of the world where political equality has been followed by a liberal intermingling with non-Jews. By Eastern Europe is meant primarily Russia and the lands formerly belonging to the old Russian Empire. The exclusion of the Jews for so long from political and civic life, on the one hand, and their aggregation in towns in which they form the majority, on the other hand, have had the inevitable effect of intensifying their communal life and strengthening their solidarity. They have produced a Jewish environment in non-Jewish territory, an environment possessing most of the essential conditions for a strict observance of religious rites, for the preservation of ancient traditions, the fostering of a separate culture, and the pursuit of distinctive ideals. They have contributed to the development of a modern Jewish literature, press, and drama, to the maintenance of separate schools and libraries, to the formation of countless societies for intellectual or philanthropic purposes and even to the creation of specifically Jewish industries. The atmosphere thus created in what once formed the Russian Pale is reproduced in the neighbouring territory of Galicia; it prevails likewise in Rumania and Turkey, and it is also found, in greater or less measure, modified by liberal conditions and tintured by the local spirit, in the great Ghettos that have arisen in Western Europe and America.

This atmosphere is permeated and dominated by the sentiment of religion: it fills a world that revolves about an axis of orthodox faith, whose poles have been fixed by the laws of the Talmud. Not all the denizens of this world are attached with equal fervour to the ancient traditions, but all are under the influence of Rabbinical Judaism which has held dominion in their midst for more than a thousand years. The most orthodox regulate every day in their lives, from the cradle to the grave, by the minute and comprehensive laws of the mediæval code, the *Shulcan Aruch* ("Table Prepared"), based and elaborated upon the decisions of the Talmud, which, in turn, are derived from the laws of Moses. Settled though the Jews have been in Poland, Lithuania, and Galicia, for hundreds of years, their minds are still steeped in the lore of their ancestors who lived in Babylon in the early centuries after the destruction of the Temple. To them the traditions handed down by their ancestors are as dear and as divinely inspired as the commandments thundered forth from Sinai. They study them, and all ancient Hebrew literature embodying them, with touching piety; they initiate their children into religious

rites from their earliest lisp ; and they hold the day imperfect on which they have not uttered a hundred benedictions. Three times a day they turn their faces towards Jerusalem, their prayers re-echoing with the yearning for the coming of the Messiah and the rebuilding of Zion.

As we travel westward we reach a more temperate zone, which merges in places even into frigidity ; but so complex is the diversity of modern Jewry that even in lands that have witnessed the farthest extreme of reform, such as Germany and the United States, there are numerous strongholds of orthodoxy. The general feature that distinguishes Western Jewry is moderation in devotion and in the observance of traditional customs. The prevalent and growing tendency, due to social and economic forces, is to divorce religious practice from daily life, to exclude the former more and more from the home and to confine it to the synagogue. In matters of ritual Western Jewry is divided into Ashkenazim or "Germans" and Sephardim or "Spaniards," a distinction which dates from mediæval times, when Germany and Spain formed the two most important centres of Jewish life, and which consists, apart from the question of ritual, in a difference in the pronunciation of Hebrew and the intonation of the prayers. In respect of principle Western Jewry is divided into two main camps—Orthodoxy and Reform—the division being primarily based upon a difference of conception of Israel's destiny. The Orthodox regard the dispersion of Jewry as a divine punishment for past transgression, and they believe in the coming of a personal Messiah and in the restoration of Israel to Palestine. The Reformers, on the other hand, regard dispersion as Israel's final lot and as the divinely-appointed means for universalizing the teachings of Judaism. These differences of principle are reflected in the ritual and other external forms, but neither Orthodoxy nor Reform presents an aspect of complete uniformity. Since the beginning of this century, a new development of the Reform school has arisen under the name of Liberal Judaism, a movement which has made further sacrifices of traditional rites and provides services in the vernacular on Sunday morning for those who cannot or will not attend the synagogue on the Sabbath.

The conflict of views upon the destiny of Israel is also reflected in the varying attitude towards the Zionist movement, which aims at re-establishing Jewish national life in Palestine. Zionism draws the greatest proportion of its followers from the Orthodox camp, but there are many in it who are opposed to

Zionism on the ground that the restoration of Israel to the Holy Land must, according to their belief, await the advent of the Messiah ; while there are Reformers who, though discarding the belief in a Messiah, look upon the regeneration of Judæa as the best means of fulfilling the Jewish mission. In this cross-division we may note that the two principal forces in the conservation of Judaism are the Orthodox synagogue and the Zionist movement. The synagogue is a passive force, which is being slowly and subtly undermined by the adverse influences of Western civilization ; the Zionist movement is the only active force which is endeavouring to counteract these corroding influences. There is another form of nationalist aspiration, which has been propounded by the Russo-Jewish historian, Dubnow, who maintains that national Jewish culture and autonomy should be developed solely in the various lands of dispersion. It has its adherents, known as "Folkists," mostly in Russia and Poland, but their numbers are comparatively small, and the principal manifestation of their doctrine consists in the propagation of Yiddish, as against Hebrew, as the national tongue.

Opposed to the agencies consciously striving for the conservation of Jewry are innumerable forces working for its dissolution. In every country in the Western world there is an open advocacy of the doctrine of assimilation, that Jews should regard themselves as distinguished from their fellow-citizens merely in respect of religion, but that otherwise they should merge themselves completely in the general life of the people in whose midst they dwell. The practice of this doctrine, often preached from radical pulpits, inevitably leads to mixed marriages and apostasy. But the forces of dissolution operate for the most part unconsciously : they arise from the very nature of the environment, which, impregnated with the spirit of reason and dominated by industrial competition, is inimical to the cultivation of an Oriental faith. Even the Jews in Eastern Europe are also exposed to corroding influences, for political persecution drives them to seek refuge in baptism, or else to remove their homes to a land where man's highest energies are devoted to the amassing of wealth. Thus the soul of Israel among the nations is nowhere immune from insidious assault. The exigencies of the economic world react upon all strata of Jewry and cause widespread neglect of the Sabbath. The attractions of the political and the distractions of the social world influence those of comfortable material status, who seek further outlets for their ambition, and in the process they gradually become

estranged from the synagogue and sometimes, even in the course of a generation or two, from their faith.

But more subtle and penetrating in its effects than all these forces is the general intellectual atmosphere of the countries of dispersion. Born in the homelands of modern civilization, reared in Western schools and universities, and nurtured upon non-Jewish lore, the Jews tend to become alienated from their own historic culture. Their thoughts and ideas are apt to be inspired and fashioned less by the characteristic traditions of their own race than by the intellectual agencies of their native land ; and the less of Judaism they have imbibed in their youth the more easily are they moulded into the prevalent national type. This spiritual metamorphosis, aided and impelled by countless unseen forces, precipitates the detachment of Jews from their race and faith and their gradual absorption by the nations. Nor do they remain mere passive creatures of their environment, but actively assist in moulding it anew. In science and art, in literature and politics, in music and the drama, and in various spheres of the academic world, their achievements are remarkable not only in relation to the short time they have engaged in European culture, but in virtue of their own intrinsic worth. They are among the keenest and most trenchant critics of literature, among the most fertile composers and brilliant executants of music, among the leading specialists in medical science, and the doughtiest champions of political and ethical movements. And the thoroughness with which they have thrown themselves into the intellectual ferment of modern times is evidenced by the fact that the Jewish origin of many celebrities often passes unnoticed, so utterly devoid is their work of any element reminiscent of their racial descent, religious faith, or historic culture.

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## CHAPTER III

### SOLIDARITY

The springs of solidarity and its forms of expression—The growth of the community and its institutions—The cultivation of solidarity—The work of philanthropic associations—The nationalist movement—The potentialities of solidarity and its limitations.

**A**MID the welter of conflicting movements and divergent tendencies that characterize modern Jewry, there is one unifying element: the sentiment of solidarity. Not only among those suffering in the lands of persecution, but also among those thriving in the lands of freedom, the feeling still prevails that "all Israel are brethren." The strength of this feeling is a witness to the continued vitality of the historic consciousness in this age of increasing assimilation; its universality is a consequence and a reflection of the world-wide dispersion of Jewry. The concrete form in which it is normally manifested is the spontaneous organization of communities in whatever part of the globe Jews may settle. The special forms in which it finds expression are the measures adopted for the relief of distress and the defence of Jewish interests, and, most notably, in the movement to reconstitute Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people.

The simplest and commonest form of Jewish solidarity is the organized community, which will be found in any town containing even a handful of Jews. The motor force in its organization is the desire for public worship, which cannot be properly conducted according to religious law without a minimum of ten adult males. The primary impulse is thus religious, and its external expression gradually materializes into a Synagogue. This institution forms the pivot and centre of communal life throughout Jewry, and its establishment is followed by the growth of a cluster of other institutions, each fulfilling some definite social need or aspiration: a school for the education of the young in the tenets and practice of Judaism, a committee or board of guardians for the relief of the poor, a society for the furtherance of Jewish knowledge and social intercourse. The town-communities are often linked together by associating

with a central body in the metropolis, either for religious or secular purposes, particularly in the Western world. The religious body acts as the ecclesiastical authority, the secular body as the guardian of civil and political interests. Some communities contain such an abundance and elaboration of institutions, answering not only to a variety of tendencies and rites in the religious domain, and to every conceivable social, philanthropic, and intellectual purpose, but also to separate industrial and professional interests and to rival political aspirations, that they form complete social organisms in themselves.

Cognate in origin, allied by the same traditions and customs, these communities give to modern Jewry the semblance of a vast network of autonomous settlements. The enlightened Jew, in whatever part of the globe he may live, is conscious of this world-wide dispersion. He has acquired this consciousness from his earliest youth, with his initiation into the history of his people : nay, from his early childhood, when he first heard stories of their persecution in barbarous lands told in hushed breath at the family hearth. The knowledge is fostered by his press, which mirrors the conditions of Jewry throughout the world ; it is stimulated by contact with fellow-Jews arriving from other lands ; it is sustained by the frequent dispersion of the members of a single family, particularly from Eastern Europe, to all corners of the globe. The average Jew of to-day, therefore, has a wide range of interests, an extensive area of vision. His sympathy finds points of contact in every latitude : his mental horizon encompasses the whole globe.

But there are more concrete and active media for the manifestation and cultivation of solidarity. They consist in the great philanthropic associations and the political committees, founded by the Jews of the West for the benefit of their brethren in the East, and above all in the organization engaged in the resettlement of the Jewish people in Palestine. The philanthropic associations are devoted for the most part to ameliorating the intellectual and economic conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the Orient. Earliest in foundation was the " Alliance Israélite Universelle," which was established in 1860, in Paris, as a result of the lurid light that was thrown upon the parlous conditions of the Jews in the Near East by the ritual murder accusation of Damascus. Its plan of operation was to found schools in which the children should receive a modern training to equip them for the battle of life. Eleven years later



the Anglo-Jewish Association was established in London to supplement this work, and soon after the "Israelitische Allianz" was formed in Vienna to deal similarly with the needs of the swarming populace of Galicia. In 1901 was formed the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden" in Berlin, which, before the Great War, also co-operated in improving the conditions of the Jews of the East, but now confines its activity for the most part to assisting the East European emigrants who pass through Germany in quest of a land of refuge. Although largely of a philanthropic nature, the work of these bodies assumes a political quality when the lives and property of their countless wards are threatened by riots or persecution, for then they invoke the goodwill of their respective Governments on their behalf. Richer in resources and wider in its area of activity is the Jewish Colonization Association, which owes its existence and its funds entirely to one man, Baron Maurice de Hirsch. Founded in Paris, in 1891, for the relief of the Jews in Russia by settling them in agricultural colonies in Argentina, it soon expanded in scope, establishing farmsteads in North and South America, undertaking the supervision of the colonies in Palestine created by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and adopting various practical measures for improving the status of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the neighbouring lands of Asia. Far more extensive even than the Jewish Colonization Association in its sphere of operations, and more varied in its modes of activity, is the American Joint Distribution Committee, which, founded a few months after the outbreak of the Great War, has raised vast sums for the relief and reconstruction of all the Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe, and also of some in the Orient, which have suffered in consequence of the distress and devastation caused by that widespread cataclysm.

The work of these philanthropic organizations is energetically supplemented by the political activity of the Joint Foreign Committee in London, the American Jewish Committee in New York, and the "Comité des Délégations Juives" in Paris. The first-named body, whose full title is the Joint Foreign Committee of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association, exercises a vigilant watch over the welfare of those communities in Eastern Europe and the Orient that are still subject to legal disabilities or social persecution and makes representations in the proper quarters whenever necessary. The American Jewish Committee fulfils the twofold purpose of safeguarding

the interests of the Jews in its own country and intervening on behalf of those suffering in less favoured lands. The "Comité des Délégations Juives" is a product of the Great War. Founded early in 1919 by the delegates of a large number of Jewish communities of Europe and America, who assembled at the seat of the Peace Conference, it set itself the task of making representations to the Conference on behalf of those Jewries that needed complete political emancipation as well as the guaranteeing of their rights as national minorities, and it submits appeals whenever the occasion arises either to the representatives of the Governments concerned or to the League of Nations.

The most impressive, most widespread, and most potent manifestation of solidarity consists of the Zionist movement, which aims at the resettlement of the Jewish people in Palestine. It is the only movement of a political character that binds the scattered children of Israel together. Its object is the realization of an age-long aspiration that has animated and sustained them throughout their tribulations of nineteen centuries. Its ideals, which are espoused in every country of the world, provide the only common platform upon which Jews of different regions and varied religious outlook can meet, for they are directed not to the amelioration of any section, but to the advancement of the welfare of the Jewish people as a whole. Its practical work consists in the reconstitution of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people, an enterprise of unparalleled difficulty and far-reaching significance, in which the Jews of more than fifty lands are co-operating in fraternal concord and with singular energy and devotion. It is the only movement that expresses the unity of Israel as a nation and strives to secure the perpetuation of his national existence in the land that gave birth to his nationhood, and it thus far transcends all other forms of racial solidarity.

All these manifold organizations, whether religious or secular, philanthropic or political, in character, and whether local, territorial, or universal in their sphere of activity, are devoted in varied degree to the maintenance of the welfare of the Jewish people, to its protection from assaults, or to the promotion of its development as a nation on its ancestral soil. They all pursue their respective activities in perfect accord with the laws of the various countries in which the Jews are settled, for there is nothing among all their objects that in any way conflicts with the duties of citizenship or the dictates of loyalty. They studiously refrain from any act or policy of external

aggression, since the sole ideal to which they are all dedicated is the peace of Israel. They are likewise innocent of any thought or intent that could give even the flimsiest colouring to the anti-Semite's fantastic accusation of "an international Jewish conspiracy." The extent and strength of Jewish solidarity are to-day, largely as a consequence of the Great War, which has brought untold suffering upon millions of Jews, whilst affording them the unique opportunity of achieving their national rehabilitation, far greater than at any previous epoch in history; and yet, owing to a variety of causes, which are all ultimately traceable back to the dispersion of the Jews at different times and among so many different lands, with the inevitable conflicting influences upon the conception of Israel's destiny, this solidarity is still very far from having attained its maximum degree of manifestation.

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## Book II

# THE SOCIAL ASPECT

### INTRODUCTION

A study of the Social Aspect must precede that of other aspects—The sequence of social phenomena to be studied.

HAVING made a survey of the far-spreading map of modern Jewry and considered its three dominant features, we shall now pursue a series of detailed investigations into the main aspects of Jewish life, with a view to revealing more precisely and intimately the conditions which it assumes in different parts of the world.

Our first inquiry will be into the Social Aspect, because this will take us into the very midst and heart of the people themselves and make us familiar with the human material which is variously moulded by the political and economic forces, and by the intellectual and religious influences, which will be considered later. It is true that the social conditions of the Jews are largely affected by political and economic circumstances, and it might perhaps be therefore expected that the latter should be treated first; but it will help towards a better appreciation of both if we first study the lives of the Jews in their homes and communities before examining their relations to the State and to the economic world. Moreover, owing partly to the fact that many features of their social life are fashioned primarily by religious laws and traditions, and partly to the fact that over four million natives of Eastern Europe have settled in masses in other parts of the globe during the last forty years, there is a greater and more widespread uniformity in their social conditions than in any other phase of Jewish life. But although it is logical to examine the Social Aspect first, its exposition will inevitably be interspersed to some extent with references and allusions to other phases: for in Jewish life all aspects are more or less closely interwoven and cannot be shut off into water-tight compartments.

In the ensuing survey we shall deal first of all with the constitution of the Jewish community, with the forces that have

contributed to its development and determined its particular character in different countries, and with the principal features that distinguish one community from another. We shall then describe the characteristics of the family, the features and customs of home life, the objects and methods of philanthropic activity, the conditions of morality, the forms of social recreation, and finally, the racial and physical characteristics of the Jew.

## CHAPTER I

### THE COMMUNITY

The community as the conservator of Jewish life—Variations among modern communities—Factors determining the character of a community—Origin of Eastern communities and their character—Differences between Eastern communities—The voluntary character of Western communities—Their heterogeneity—The Western Ghetto: its features—The Western Ghetto as half-way house.

THE corporate life of the Jewish people for nearly two thousand years has been founded upon a communal basis. Exiled from the land in which they had developed their national life, and dispersed in the process of ages unto the four corners of the earth, they have succeeded in preserving most of the distinctive traits of a separate people. The survival of these traits through an endless cycle of wanderings and persecutions is one of those strange phenomena that challenge the analytic power of the scientific historian and that are popularly attributed to the favour of Providence. But this riddle of the Jewish persistence can be explained by forces and factors of a human order. Those forces were twofold, internal and external. The internal force was the attachment to a religion whose innumerable prescriptions controlled and coloured the life of every day and necessitated close congregation; the external force was the oppression which compelled the Jews to live in isolation in the various lands of their dispersion. In some countries the isolation was only social, due to the prevalence of religious prejudice and the feudal system; in others it assumed the form of a special Jews' quarter, or Ghetto, bounded by tall gloomy walls and barred by an iron gate. Within the communities in which they thus dwelt, especially in Central Europe, they enjoyed a certain measure of autonomy and consolidated their social organization. They conserved their religious rites and customs, they developed particular institutions, and they kept alive the traditional culture, the racial consciousness, and the national genius of their people.

As they have lived throughout their dispersion, so, for the most part, they live at the present day—in communities. These communities are mostly of an urban character, those of

a rural character existing only in the comparatively few countries in which Jews are engaged in agricultural pursuits.<sup>1</sup> They are to be found in every part of the globe, forming an integral factor in the social fabric of many lands, and sometimes, in Eastern Europe, occupying the greater part of a town and giving it its dominant character. In these settlements, differing in external structure and internal composition, the specific life of Jewry manifests itself in countless forms and with varying intensity. Where the Jews lead a life distinct from that of the surrounding nation, not merely in religious observance but in every other sphere of human activity, there the Jewish pulse beats more vigorously. They confine their social intercourse for the most part to themselves; they organize their own education, industries, and charities; pursue their own intellectual ideals, and combine occasionally for self-defence in the political arena, though into their midst inevitably penetrate echoes and elements of the national life around them. Even where Jewish life is at its lowest ebb, there will be found a synagogue which provides a bond of union among those who still wish to remain within the fold. Where there is no synagogue nor any attempt to provide a substitute there may, indeed, be Jews, but there is no Jewish life: the Jews become so many indistinguishable atoms in the general social mass.

The most important factor determining the constitution and character of a Jewish community is environment, and next to this is the density of the Jewish population. Either of these factors is sufficient in itself to engender a robust communal spirit; where the two are combined the ideal conditions are present for a vigorous communal life in its countless ramifications. These ideal conditions are found throughout the lands of the East, in Asia and North Africa, as well as in Eastern Europe, where political intolerance and religious fervour or fanaticism provide a favourable soil for separatist settlements. But in the lands of the West, whether in Europe, America, or the British Dominions, where the Jews enjoy civil and political freedom and are not excluded by legal barriers from social intercourse with their neighbours, a certain compactness of population alone can give substance and strength to communal life. Thus, in the East the adhesion to separate communities is mostly compulsory, in the West it is entirely voluntary. Even in those countries of Central and Eastern Europe where the organized Jewish community derives authority from the State to levy a tax upon its members for the maintenance of its

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Jews engaged in agriculture see Bk. IV, Chap I.





THE JEWISH QUARTER IN AMSTERDAM  
*From the Etching by Prof. Max Liebermann*



essential institutions, a Jew can secede by simply declaring himself *confessionslos* (religionless).

In the lands of the East the communities owed their establishment to the factors of nationality and religion, and also to the position of political servitude to which, with occasional intervals of clemency, the Jews were mostly condemned. The forces that brought them into being in the early ages, and which preserved them throughout the mediæval tribulations, serve to maintain them intact at the present day. The feeling of national separateness has been deepened by the accumulated memories and traditions of the past; the religious factor has lost little of its potency in the process of centuries; while the political despotism or social hostility of mediæval days continues for the most part to hold uninterrupted sway. The countries in which these conditions prevail in varying degree contain about one-half of the Jewish people, comprising Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, Turkey, Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan. The compact Jewish communities that were characteristic of the Pale of Settlement in Tsarist Russia have survived and even multiplied both in Russia itself and in the Succession States, despite the political equality to which the Jews are entitled, but which they can exercise only in a modified measure, and despite, too, the stream of emigration that flows without cease. Similar conditions exist in Rumania, where anti-Semitism has increased in proportion to the advance of political liberty, and also in those famous centres, Salonica and Smyrna, which still possess teeming communities, diminished though they have been to some extent by the ravages of fire and the ravings of racial intolerance. In Persia and Afghanistan the Jews still live in a state of semi-outlawry, a condition rather worse than that in Morocco, whilst not only in those countries, but also in Iraq and India, they are segregated from the rest of the population.

Jewish life in these Eastern regions has all the intensity and distinctiveness of the life of a separate nation. Not only is it distinguished by its own traditions, customs, and institutions, by its home life and social intercourse, but also by language and occasionally even by dress. By reason of their historic migrations and communal isolation, the Jews have developed new languages or dialects of their own which are written in Hebrew characters. The most widely spoken of these idioms is Yiddish or Judæo-German, the development of the language which they took with them from Germany on their eastward migration in the sixteenth century, which they cultivated on Slavic soil with

graftings from Hebrew, and which is now spoken not only throughout Russia, Poland, and adjacent lands, but also in every part of the world in which Russian and Polish Jews have settled. In the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula they speak Ladino or Judæo-Spanish, the development of the language which they carried away on their expulsion from Spain in 1492, and which they cultivated on the then Turkish territory, likewise with graftings from Hebrew. In Arabic-speaking countries, from Morocco to Mesopotamia, they have developed a peculiar form of Arabic; in Persia, of Persian, and in Bokhara, of Bokharan. The distinction of dress is by no means so marked or so prevalent as that of language. In Morocco the Jews must arrange the folds of their outer garment so as to leave only the left hand free; in Persia they are not allowed to wear the *kolah*, the national head-dress,<sup>1</sup> In Poland, including Galicia, they voluntarily wear long gaberlines and round fur hats, whilst those who belong to the sect of Chassidim also wear white socks into which they tuck the bottom of their trousers.

There are two other features which Eastern communities have in common and which distinguish them from conditions in the West—their homogeneity and their poverty. The population of the Eastern communities is mostly of one kind: it is an indigenous element, whose history dates back many centuries and in some cases, such as Damascus and Cairo, more than two thousand years. It is mainly in Palestine that the Jewish population comprises different elements, originating not only from neighbouring countries but also from all other parts of the world. As for the poverty, that is a natural product of the economic conditions that prevail in these Eastern regions, though, fortunately, there are exceptions.

Similar in the various features just enumerated, the communities of Eastern Europe differ notably from those of the Orient in certain intellectual and physical respects. The former are distinguished by intellectual vitality and physical mobility; the latter by intellectual stagnation and physical inertia. The mental torpor of the East has been gradually stirred by the educational labours conducted in its midst by Western Jewry; and the immobility of its masses has also undergone a change of late, particularly in Morocco, where the ravages of war have inflicted terrible sufferings upon the Jews, forcing many of them to seek a home in Algeria, Egypt, and Palestine. But mental and physical inertia are still the general characteristics of Oriental Jewry. On the other hand, Jews in

<sup>1</sup> This disability has been removed by a law that came into force March 21, 1929.

Eastern Europe, particularly in Russia and Poland, have manifested a vigorous intellectual activity by their production of a literature, press, and drama of their own; while their mobility is one of the most dominant factors in modern life. For over forty years the current of migration has flowed steadily from Eastern Europe westward, leaving a deposit in its course. The primal impetus was an outbreak of persecution, but intolerance is now such a normal phenomenon that the stream of migration flows unceasingly. The communities of Eastern Europe have, nevertheless, in the aggregate, not sustained any diminution of numbers, while some of them, such as Kiev and Odessa, show a considerable increase. The most favoured lands of refuge are England, America, and the British Dominions, in which populous and thriving Jewish centres have arisen.

The most important feature that distinguishes the communities of the West from those of the East is their voluntary character. There is no legal power that isolates Jewry from its surroundings, although in several countries on the Continent of Europe the administration of the community, so far as fiscal rights are concerned, is backed by State authority. The spontaneous character of Jewish settlements is exemplified most strongly in those that have sprung up in the latter half of the nineteenth century in England, the United States, and the British Dominions. The forces that have contributed to their foundation were mainly the racial and the religious consciousness, a supplementary cause being the foreign origin of the founders of the community, which impelled them in the beginning to form some sort of separate association. But foreign origin alone would not have sufficed to preserve a separate community, for prolonged residence and commercial intercourse tend to assimilate its members to the dominant nationality. The vital factors in its preservation were the historic consciousness that differentiated it from the people around it, and the religious consciousness that needed for its manifestation a place of worship and subsidiary institutions. The strength of these factors is shown in the size and solidity of numberless communities in the lands of freedom, comprising a variety of special institutions. Of these the first in point of time and importance is the synagogue, after which come the school and the cemetery, followed by societies for charitable, social, intellectual, professional, and even political purposes, according as the numbers and needs of the community increase and its problems develop. Communal life in the West is

thus built up on a voluntary basis, and is independent of the segregation which is an invariable feature of all Jewries in Eastern countries, although this characteristic is also found very frequently, particularly in the larger and old-established centres.

Western communities differ markedly from Eastern in another respect, as they generally comprise two main sections—the native and the foreign, the latter consisting mostly of immigrants from Russia, Poland, and Rumania, whilst including representatives from many other countries in the East. The native section lived in some sort of concentration in the early history of their community, within a convenient distance of the synagogue and other religious or quasi-religious institutions; but a rise in material prosperity would be followed by removal to a better district, where a new Jewish area might be created, though one less distinguished from its environment by external tokens. The foreign section, however, live in a state of dense concentration. Their poverty makes them settle in a poor quarter of the town, where they reproduce the social conditions in which they have been born and bred, so far as the new environment will allow. They have been accustomed to live as one large family, speaking the same tongue and breathing the same air, and all revolving around the synagogue, which is for them not merely a house of worship and religious instruction but a centre of social life; and although they are now free to settle wherever they please, they cannot easily abandon the ingrained habits of generations. The Ghetto in the East may be a symbol of political bondage; but in the West the only bondage that it typifies is that exercised by sentiment and tradition. To a large extent the modern Ghetto is necessitated by the precepts and practices of orthodox Judaism, by the need of dwelling within easy reach of the synagogue, the school, and the ritual bath, the *kosher* butcher-shop and the *kosher* dairy. But even for those who are indifferent to religious observances and ritual practices, residence in the Ghetto is necessitated by social and economic circumstances. Ignorance of the language of the new country, of its labour conditions, and of its general habits and ways of thought, as well as the natural timidity of a fugitive from a land of persecution, compels the immigrant Jew to settle in the colony of his co-religionists. Among them he is perfectly at home: he finds the path to employment comparatively smooth, and if he meets with any difficulties, he is helped by many willing hands.

The modern Ghetto is found in most of the large cities of

Western Europe, America, and South Africa, its rise being due to the chronic persecutions of the last fifty years or so in Eastern Europe. In dimensions it is generally equal to, and occasionally greater than, its Eastern prototype, the Ghetto of New York being the largest in the world. There is more of the colour and intensity of Jewish life in the Ghetto than in the rest of the community. Innumerable blocks of mean houses, covering a wide area, are wholly inhabited by immigrant Jews, who swarm into the streets, talking their strange tongue, and sometimes still clad in the peaked hat and top-boots of their native country. The thoroughfares are lined with shops and restaurants bearing foreign names and Hebrew signs; the walls are covered with multi-coloured posters in Yiddish; the gutters are occupied by rows of stalls and barrows, laden with exotic wares. In the larger centres there are special market-places which present a scene of tremendous bustle on the eve of Sabbaths and festivals, when every Jewish housewife lays in a store of fish and fowl to celebrate the sacred day with fitting honours. Newsboys rush through the motley crowd, crying the names of Yiddish papers; a string band at a street corner discourses some haunting Hebrew melody; a poor woman, with a child at her breast, sings a Yiddish song of sadness; a blind man sells the little four-cornered fringed garments prescribed in Deuteronomy; a peripatetic bookseller proffers religious code-books and sensational romances; a labour agitator harangues a knot of workmen; an unctuous missionary quotes the New Testament in Yiddish and seeks to lure his hearers to apostasy; a Zionist orator waxes eloquent over the glories of a rejuvenated Judæa. Synagogues great and small, houses of Talmudic study, big religious seminaries that resound with boyish voices chanting the Torah and little private schools tucked away in fifth-floor back-rooms, ecclesiastical "courts of judgment" and libraries, baths, hospitals, and dispensaries, clubs, theatres, and dancing-halls, asylums for newly arrived immigrants, for the poor and the aged—these and countless other institutions make up the compact variegated fabric of the modern Ghetto.

But the inhabitants of the Western Ghetto are never permanent inmates: they use it for the most part as a half-way house, as a transitional stage between East and West. The influences from without penetrate slowly and subtly, luring the Jew into the outer world. By dint of industry, sobriety, and thrift he improves his worldly position and moves to a more spacious quarter. By that time he will have mastered the

vernacular and become pretty familiar with the principal conditions of his adopted fatherland. He possesses an hereditary gift for adaptability, which is stimulated by his native co-religionists, who make "Anglicization" or "Americanization," or whatever else the local term may be, a cardinal principle in their communal policy. The actual immigrant from the East who settles in a Western Ghetto may, by reason of age, poverty, or prejudice, remain there and die there. But his children very seldom, perhaps never, do so: their modern education weakens the sentimental attachment to the Ghetto, and they prefer to live farther afield and enjoy a sense of actual equality with their non-Jewish neighbours. This steady migration of the children of the Ghetto into the outer circle of the communal area exercises a conservative influence upon religious conformity and Jewish life in general, which are everywhere exposed to the corroding effects of a Western environment. But simultaneously with the outflow from the Ghetto there is a steady influx from Eastern Europe, which is impelled by the forces of oppression and economic distress and will continue as long as those forces prevail. This current of migration, which flowed so vigorously both before the Great War and in the first few years after its close, has been substantially reduced by the anti-immigration legislation of what were once such liberal lands of refuge, and if the restrictions now imposed should continue for any considerable period, they are bound to exercise a relaxing influence upon the communal life of the Jewries in those countries, save in so far as the latter are moved to a keen sense of solidarity by the increasing appeals for help from the less favoured communities in the East.

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## CHAPTER II

### THE FAMILY

The importance of the family in Jewry—The age of marriage—Marriages in the East and in the West—Betrothal—Religious celebrations—The legal aspect—The social celebration—The desire for children—Customs at birth—Religious rites at birth—The ceremony of "confirmation."

THE family possesses more than ordinary importance in Jewish life, for it is the bond of cohesion which has safeguarded the purity of the race and the continuity of religious tradition. It is the stronghold of Jewish sentiment, in which Jewish life unfolds itself in its most typical forms and intimate phases. To found a family is regarded not merely as a social ideal but as a religious duty. The Rabbis declared that the first affirmative precept in the Bible was the injunction "Be fruitful and multiply," and they invested marriage with the highest communal significance. They despised the bachelor and pitied the spinster. Only he who had founded a house in Israel was worthy to be considered a full-fledged member of the community; only she who had become a mother in Israel had realized her destiny. This view has become modified in modern times, though family life still enjoys much of its traditional importance in Jewry.

The Rabbis of ancient times prescribed the eighteenth year as the age for marriage. This prescription is still observed in various parts of Eastern Europe, while in other Eastern countries, Morocco, Persia, and India, marriage often takes place even earlier. In Tsarist Russia political conditions conspired with moral considerations to produce early marriages, for married men were exempt from military service, and the father who had a dowry for his daughter sought to secure her marriage before the *dot* could be imperilled by a riot. In Western countries, however, early marriages are rendered less frequent by prudential considerations, though the traditional ideal of family life acts as a check upon a distant postponement. In orthodox circles early marriages, particularly of the daughters, are fairly frequent, but in households long established in a Western environment the age for marriage approximates to that among the general population.

In Eastern countries, such as Morocco, Persia, and India, the marriage is arranged by the parents of the young couple, who submissively acquiesce in their fate. In Eastern Europe the parental negotiations are preceded by the activity of a matrimonial agent, who is rendered necessary by the segregation of the sexes still observed in most of the communities in Eastern Europe. The *Shadchan*, as he is called, is a prized visitor in the home of every marriageable girl, whose chances depend, apart from natural charms, upon the amount of her dowry and the family reputation for piety, learning, and philanthropy. The highest virtue of the bridegroom is excellence in Talmudic study, which surpasses in value a brilliant pedigree or a dazzling income bedimmed with ignorance. In most of the teeming communities of Russian and Polish Jewry the father still regards sacred learning as the noblest possession in a son-in-law, and if he can ally his daughter to a budding Rabbi he believes the union will find especial grace in Heaven. The lack of worldly means on the part of the bridegroom forms no deterrent, for it is customary for the father of the bride to keep his son-in-law in his own house for the first two years after marriage and then to set him up in a home and business of his own. The services of the *Shadchan* are in constant demand: his area of operations extends over many countries. The couples whom he brings together hardly know one another before marriage and sometimes see each other for the first time on their wedding-day, but their happiness is favoured by their youth, the absence of a previous attachment, and the fact that marriage affords them the first opportunity of falling in love.

In the West the arrangement of marriages tends to vary approximately in accordance with local customs and conditions, the freedom of intercourse between the sexes allowing of the natural development of personal affinities. The Talmudic scholarship of a young man enjoys little or no importance in the marriage-market: its place is taken by secular scholarship and scientific distinction, particularly in Austria and Germany. But the decisive element in the bridegroom's eligibility is his worldly position and prospects, whilst the bride must, like her sister in the East, be provided with a dowry. Despite the free conditions of the West and the vogue of matrimonial advertisements in German countries the *Shadchan* still plays an important part, and in America he is even insured by the contracting parties against a breach of promise. But on the whole Western Jewry is divided from Eastern Jewry in the facility of mar-

riages of affection as well as in the care exercised to prevent imprudent unions. In the East the religious importance attaching to marriage, the stigma attaching to celibacy, and the deep-rooted faith in the Almighty as the bountiful Provider of human needs, usually outweigh material considerations, but in the West the material sustenance of wedded life must first be assured. This difference of attitude results not only in the postponement of marriage in the West, but also in the increase of celibacy, a tendency which is favoured by the sense of independence acquired by women who earn their own living and who find therein a source of consolation or distraction not open to their sisters in the East. Thus, the economic conditions of the modern world tend to modify profoundly the traditional ideals of family life.

In ancient times the ceremony of betrothal (*erusin*) consisted in the signing of a contract which could be set aside only by formal divorce, and it was followed twelve months later by marriage (*nissuin*—home-taking). But when the Jews became dispersed among the nations they found this custom inexpedient and so combined the two ceremonies in the marriage service. A Jewish betrothal now, therefore, is simply the ordinary engagement in the West, though it receives a religious sanction in the synagogue, in which the bridegroom, on the Sabbath following, is called up to the reading of the Law. Should the promise of marriage be unfulfilled, the girl who desires compensation must resort to the law of the land (if it provides for such a case), since no redress is provided by Jewish law.

The religious solemnization of marriage is, in its essential features, the same in all communities; its festive celebration differs very widely according to environment. In orthodox circles the bride takes a ritual bath the day before the marriage, and both the bride and bridegroom fast on their wedding-day until the festal repast, in expiation of their sins. The scene of the nuptial ceremony is usually in the synagogue, where the rule as to the separation of the sexes is relaxed for the nonce. The young couple take their places beneath a canopy (*huppah*) before the Ark of the Law, supported by their respective sponsors, who are known as *Unterfuehrer*, and accompanied in Western countries by such conventional auxiliaries as best man, bridesmaids, and even page-boys. The Rabbi recites the marriage benediction, offers a cup of wine to bride and bridegroom, and then the latter, placing a ring upon the bride's finger, makes the declaration: "Lo, thou art dedicated unto me by this ring according to the Law

of Moses and Israel." The marriage contract, which is an Aramaic composition on parchment, is read; the celebrant utters seven blessings over a second cup of wine; the bridegroom crushes a glass under his foot as a symbol of grief for the loss of Zion; and the celebrant pronounces the benediction.

Compliance with the marriage law of the land is naturally insisted upon by the religious authorities, but in very poor circles in Eastern Europe the act of marriage is sometimes confined to a private ceremony (*stille Chasunah*) at home, which is solemnized by an impecunious Rabbi, and the legal formality of registration is omitted. Such marriages, however, are on the decrease owing to a growing knowledge of the perils involved by illegitimacy. No alliance may take place between a member of the Jewish faith and a Gentile, unless the latter previously becomes a proselyte; nor between a member of the priestly caste (a *Cohen*) and a widow or a divorced woman. Marriage with a brother's widow, which, when there was no issue, was regarded as obligatory in Bible times (Deut. xxv. 5-6), is generally discountenanced, and the ceremony for evading the obligation (*halizah*—taking off the shoe) is observed pretty widely (Deut. xxv. 7-10), except in Reform circles.

In Oriental countries the wedding festivities continue several days, and the bride is led to the home of her husband amid the gladsome acclaim of an animated throng. In various parts of Eastern Europe, particularly in the townlets with a tense Jewish atmosphere, the feast is prolonged to a late hour while profound discourses on Talmudic themes are delivered not only by the Rabbis present but also by the bridegroom, who, apparently, is expected to be so unperturbed by the responsibilities of his new estate as to be able to hold forth for an hour upon some problem of religious jurisprudence. Entertainment of a lighter kind is provided by a party of fiddlers (*Klesmer*), one of whom, the jester (*Badhan* or *Marschalik*), improvises songs and japes and addresses the bride in a mock-serious oration which reduces her to tears by depicting the trials awaiting the virtuous housewife in Israel. In Western countries a dinner and ball are considered in the middle classes the requisite features of a fashionable celebration, and in each locality a recognized code or ritual is scrupulously observed. On the Continent, particularly in Germany, it is customary to perform an amateur play gently satirizing the foibles of the young couple and their families. The honeymoon, which is unknown in Eastern Jewry, is indulged in throughout the



A JEWISH WEDDING IN GALICIA  
*From the Painting by W. Strykowski*



West by all whose means allow them the luxury, but in conforming families it is postponed until after the Sabbath following the wedding, as a domestic celebration, known as the "Seven Blessings," is observed on the Day of Rest.

No marriage is considered blessed that has no issue; no family is considered complete without children. The maternal instinct of the Jewess is not only a natural emotion but a traditional ideal, illustrated in the prayer of Hannah. The simple and essential conditions of domestic bliss are picturesquely phrased by the Psalmist: "Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine, in the innermost parts of thine house: thy children like olive plants, round about thy table."<sup>1</sup> A husband is entitled to a divorce after ten years if the marriage has been childless, and hence among the poor pious classes in Eastern Europe a childless wife will perform all manner of virtuous deeds to secure the favour of motherhood, and even consult a "good Jew," a man versed in Cabbalistic lore and reputed to possess the miraculous power of the Baal Shem, the founder of the Chassidic sect who flourished in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> There is also a religious reason for desiring an heir, for it is the duty of a son to honour his parents' memory after death by reciting a special prayer (*Kaddish*—sanctification) to which profound—and almost superstitious—importance is attached. The desire for children is generally gratified, often in an abundant measure, though large families are becoming infrequent in the West, where prudential considerations prevail.

The birth of a child is attended by a number of customs, partly religious and partly superstitious, though the latter are confined mostly to communities in Eastern Europe and the Orient. In ignorant families there still prevails a belief in the power of Lilith over new-born babes, and her sinister influence is exorcised by a display of charms and amulets on the walls of the sick-chamber. These charms are mostly in the form of Hebrew leaflets, bearing verses from the Psalms and an invocation to the guardian angels, which are hung near the door or window. During the first eight days of its life, and in some places even for the first thirty days, the child is protected from *benemmerin* ("pixies") by a group of young school-children who recite the evening-prayers in the lying-in chamber under the supervision of a teacher. In parts of Germany, in

<sup>1</sup> Psalm cxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Israel b. Eliezer, of Miedzyboz (Poland), 1700–60, who was credited with the power of working miracles by the name of God and hence was known as the *Baal Shem Tob* (Master of the Good Name).

Rumania, the Caucasus, and the Orient there are other peculiar customs for the protection of mother and child.

The birth of a boy is usually greeted with greater joy than that of a girl, the reasons being partly social, partly religious, and partly economic. The Oriental view of the inferiority of woman still holds a place in the philosophy of Eastern Jewry. The religious pre-eminence of man consists in his being able to perform so many more commandments, Scriptural and Rabbinical, than the woman; and his economic advantage is particularly enhanced in a community in which the arrival of every daughter involves the saving up of a dowry. The principal custom connected with the birth of a male child is the "covenant of the circumcision," which takes place on the eighth day at home, and in orthodox circles occasionally in the synagogue, when the day falls on the New Year or the Day of Atonement. The operation requires expert surgical skill, and hence in Western countries a Jewish doctor is preferred to a *Mohel* or practitioner who only possesses an ecclesiastical licence. The infant is borne from its mother's room by its godmother, who places it on the lap of its godfather, where the rite is performed and the child is named. The ceremony is celebrated by a breakfast, at which in orthodox circles the speeches often take the form of Talmudical discourses. A first-born son involves a further ceremony, for on the thirty-first day of his birth (Exodus XIII. 2 and Numbers XVIII. 16) he must be redeemed from a hypothetical sanctification to God by the payment of five *selaim* or silver coins (reckoned at fifteen shillings) by the father to a *Cohen* or priest. The "redemption of the son" is made the occasion of a happy gathering, generally in the evening, and the money received by the *Cohen* is usually devoted to charity. In comparison with these various customs the formal reception of a female child into the community is simplicity itself. It consists of an announcement of her birth and Hebrew name in the synagogue on the following Sabbath morning. But even this simple custom is falling into desuetude in Western Jewry, and the registration of the birth at the office of the civil authority is frequently deemed sufficient.

There is still another family celebration, when a boy on completing his thirteenth year publicly assumes religious responsibility and is styled a "son of the commandment" (*Bar-Mitzvah*). The rite, known in Western countries as "confirmation," is of an essentially religious character, but its domestic aspect enjoys at least equal if not greater importance. On the Sabbath after his thirteenth birthday the boy is called



up to the reading of the Law in the synagogue, and cantilates a portion in the traditional melody ; while his father offers up a benediction for being exempted from future responsibility for the lad's religious conformity. The event is celebrated at home mostly by a breakfast, at which various speeches are delivered, including one by the boy himself, which, in orthodox families, consists of a Talmudical discourse learned by rote. In Western countries the traditional breakfast has given way to an afternoon reception, at which the boy's presents are displayed. The Reform Synagogue has instituted a counterpart to this ceremony in the form of a confirmation service for girls, who are dressed for the occasion in a white frock, and in some countries also in a bridal wreath and train, and the service, although without the authority of tradition, has been adopted in some form or other by a number of Orthodox synagogues.

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## CHAPTER III

### THE HOME: EXTERNAL FEATURES

The atmosphere in the home—Distinctive symbols—Pictures—Books—  
Culinary arrangements—Dietary regulations—Peculiarities of cuisine—  
The cuisine as a distinctive element in Jewish life—Distinctions of dress  
and of hair.

THE essential qualities of Jewish life are seen in their purest and most intimate form in the privacy of the home. The atmosphere of a Jewish abode of the traditional type is diffused primarily by the precepts and practices of religion, which colour and control most of the daily activities of the Jew and surround him with concrete tokens of his faith. Many of his domestic customs and observances are prescribed in the *Shulchan Aruch*, the code of orthodoxy, and thus bear a religious impress; but they are for the most part the social habits of a people which has preserved a distinct individuality through centuries of exile. This distinct individuality is embodied in matters both material and intellectual, such as the kitchen and table arrangements, food and dress, pictures and books, speech and song. It is found in the fullest degree in the communities of Eastern Europe, as well as in those Western centres where traditional orthodoxy still holds sway. But it appears in a very attenuated degree in the houses of a great and growing mass of Western Jews, who tend to suppress the signs and symbols of their Judaism and to mould their lives after the prevalent fashion. The picture that will be drawn here will be that of a home in which most of the salient features of traditional Jewish life find normal expression.

The first distinctive symbol greets one at the very threshold, namely, the *Mezuzah* (*lit.*, doorpost), a small, tubular case of wood or metal, fixed slantwise on the upper part of the right-hand doorpost. The case contains a rolled piece of parchment on which are written Scriptural verses enjoining the love of God and obedience to His commandments (Deut. vi. 4-9, XI. 13-21), and there is a small opening showing the word *Shaddai* (Almighty) written on the back of the scroll. This symbol

is prescribed in the words : " And thou shalt write them on the door-posts of thy house and upon thy gates " (Deut. vi. 9, and xi. 20). It is fixed not only on the street-door, but on the door of every living-room in the house, and whenever the pious pass the *Mezuzah*, they touch it and kiss their fingers. The conforming Jew celebrates his entry into a new house by a religious ceremony of dedication, accompanied by a friendly reunion at which a Talmudical discourse is delivered. Sometimes he will leave an unpapered patch on one of the walls as a sign of grief for the destruction of Jerusalem, and he may nail a round piece of *Matzah* (Passover cake) above the mantelpiece as a constant reminder of the Exodus (Deut. xvi. 3). Various articles for ritual purposes are also displayed—the glistening candlesticks to welcome Sabbaths and festivals, the plaited taper and artistically wrought spice-box used in the service for ushering them out, the goblet of gold or silver or baser metal for the benedictions over wine essential to these holy-days, and the eight-branched candlestick for the Feast of Dedication (*Chanukah*). Another conspicuous feature is the charity-box nailed to the wall in aid either of local philanthropy, or one of the many charities in Palestine. In recent years the " Jewish National Fund " box, distributed by the Zionist Organization for the collection of money to buy land in Palestine, has become a familiar object in all parts of the world.

The walls are adorned with designs and pictures reflecting a cherished tradition or illustrating a hallowed scene or revered personality. A favourite design consists of two intertwined triangles, called the " Shield of David " (*Magen David*), and employed both in domestic and synagogue adornment. The usual decorations, particularly in Eastern Europe, are legendary portraits of Moses and Aaron, crudely coloured views of Palestine, a permanent Hebrew calendar of perplexing elaborateness, a *Jahrzeit* tablet in simple black frame recording in Hebrew the anniversary of a parent's death, and a micrographic representation either of Moses with horned forehead, or of the Cave of Machpelah, or of some other revered person or place. Portraits of distinguished Rabbis and of eminent Jews who have laboured for the salvation of their people, such as Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, and Dr. Theodor Herzl, likewise have an honoured place even in the humblest home. In Germany some of the most familiar pictures are scenes of Jewish domestic life and religious celebration drawn by the eighteenth-century artist, Moritz Oppenheim, and in recent

years there has been a steady increase of pictures portraying modern Jewish life in all its phases.

The books have also a character of their own. The nucleus of every library in a typical orthodox household is a Hebrew collection consisting primarily of prayer-books for various occasions and Pentateuchs, worn with use and sered with age. The usual edition of the Torah or Pentateuch is in five volumes, each containing the Aramaic Targum and an array of mediæval commentaries. The other Hebrew works are the Old Testament, the Talmud, the Mishnah, and the *Shulchan Aruch*, each in several volumes, whilst a larger collection will comprise books in every branch of theological lore and religious legislation. The favourite volume of the orthodox Jewess of Eastern Europe is a Yiddish paraphrase of the Pentateuch, called *Teutsch-Chumesh* or *Ze'enah Ure'enah*,<sup>1</sup> embodying many legends and homilies. There are also secular works in Hebrew and Yiddish, comprising history, science, fiction, and poetry; whilst the library of the scholar also contains many modern scientific works in various languages on Jewish history, literature, theology, and sociology.

A salient feature in the orthodox household consists of the arrangements in the kitchen, which are subject to special dietary laws. All meat-food must be kept strictly separate from milk-food, as the contact of one with the other—such as meat with milk, butter, or cheese—would render both unfit for consumption. This regulation involves the use of two sets of utensils, both for cooking and eating, the one set being reserved for meat dishes and the other for milk or butter dishes, and the crockery and cutlery of the one set being kept rigorously apart from those of the other. This separation of things *fleischig* (meaty) from things *milchig* (milky) is observed by the strict housewife in every conceivable direction: there are separate table-cloths and napkins, separate cruets, separate basins for washing the crockery and separate towels for drying; and in more elaborate kitchens there are even separate cooking-ranges, dressers, and sinks. There is a special utensil for the preparation of meat, from which the blood must be drained in accordance with the Biblical command (Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xiii. 17). It is a slanting board or piece of wicker-work, upon which the meat, after having been soaked in water half an hour, is besprinkled with salt; after another hour the salt is rinsed away, and the meat is ready for cooking. On the Feast of Passover special crockery and cutlery must be used,

<sup>1</sup> Heb., "Go ye forth and see" (Canticles III, ii).

and as separate sets are necessary for meat and milk, the orthodox household must be provided in all with four sets of cooking and eating vessels. The Passover sets are usually stored in some out-of-the-way place, where they are safe from contamination by anything "leavened," i.e. the customary food of the rest of the year.

The kitchen of the orthodox Jew is distinguished not only by the formal arrangements for storing, cooking, and eating food, but even more so by the nature of the food admitted. He strictly adheres to the prescriptions in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Leviticus as to the animals, birds, and fish that he may consume. He refrains from eating the flesh of any beasts except those that are cloven-footed and that chew the cud, and hence pork, bacon, and ham are taboo in his home. He refrains from eating any of the birds forbidden in that chapter, any fish that have not fins and scales, such as the eel, and "all creeping things that creep upon the earth," such as snails, oysters, crabs, and lobsters. It is not enough that the flesh which he eats is of beasts or birds that are permitted, but these must have been killed by Jewish slaughterers in accordance with the regulations of Rabbinic law (*Shechita*) in order that the meat shall be *kosher*. Hence, the Jewish housewife must obtain her meat from a butcher licensed by the ecclesiastical authorities, and after bringing it home she must remove the blood in the manner described before cooking it. The law of *Shechita* applies only to cattle, beasts, and birds; there is no ordinance regarding the killing of fish, and hence the latter may be obtained from any purveyor. The strict housewife will also be particular about the fitness of the milk, butter, and cheese that she buys, and invariably procures them from a Jewish dairyman who holds a license from the ecclesiastical authority, or upon whose scrupulous observance of the ritual law she can rely. Dairy produce from a non-Jewish purveyor may have come into contact with some forbidden matter, such as lard, or may have been conveyed in vessels ritually unclean, and hence it is suspect. A similar precaution is also taken in regard to bread and pastry, which must not be baked with forbidden fats: and hence the housewife will procure these commodities from a baker who observes the ritual law. In very orthodox centres the licensed baker affixes to each loaf a small label, which certifies that it is *kosher* and gives the name of the Rabbi under whose authority the certificate is issued, whilst occasionally it even bears the baker's portrait and a registered number. The frugal housewife, however, bakes her

own bread, at least two twisted loaves in honour of the Sabbath, and performs a deed of religious merit in sacrificing a handful of dough (*Challah*) upon the fire, a survival of the offering made to the priest in Temple times (Num. xv. 20). The bread is baked either at home, or more often at the local baker's, and hence in Jewish districts on a Friday afternoon, or on the eve of a festival, one may frequently see girls carrying home the Sabbath loaves in their aprons.

The peculiar dishes of most nations are largely determined by the natural products of the country and by the taste formed by climatic conditions. The peculiar dishes of the Jewish cuisine are only partly determined by these circumstances: they have been mainly evolved by the elaborate legislation which prescribes what food is permitted, prohibits certain kinds of food at certain periods, and expressly forbids the act of cooking on the Sabbath. The eating of meat is subjected to more restrictions than any other commodity: the animal must be killed in accordance with Rabbinical law, the meat must be drained of its blood, and it must not be cooked with milk or butter. Moreover, during the first nine days of Ab (August) it may not be eaten at all, except on the Sabbath, as a token of grief for the destruction of Jerusalem. These restrictions have caused fish to become an article of very frequent consumption among even the poorest Jews, and it is recommended by the religious code as an essential dish on Sabbaths and festivals. Its popularity has tended to develop a fertile ingenuity in its preparation, the principal modes being frying, stewing, and "filling." The third mode (*gefüllter fisch*) is peculiar to the Jews of Eastern Europe: the fish is prepared very much like a rissole, except that the pieces are covered with the skin and cooked in boiling water. The most distinctive dish is that due to the inability to cook on the Sabbath and to the desire nevertheless to have hot food on that day. It is known as *shalet*, the virtues of which have been sung in a panegyric by Heine in his *Prinzessin Sabbath*. It consists usually of meat stewed with potatoes and fat, or with peas, beans, and barley. The pot containing it is generally put into another and larger pot containing hot water, and the whole is placed into the oven or upon the stove on Friday afternoon; thus the dish requires no further attention, and it is quite hot enough when served for the midday meal on the Sabbath. The term *shalet*, which is prevalent in German-speaking countries, has undergone local variations, being known as *sholent* or *tcholent* in Russia, and *shulet* in Bohemia. Its

etymology has been explained in various fanciful ways, but the word is doubtless derived from the Old French *chauld* (warm), and thus points to the ancient origin of the popular dish. A common form of *shalet* is known as *kugel*, a kind of pudding, in which flour, fat, and raisins are usual ingredients. The law that has evolved this peculiar dish is also responsible for the extensive use of the samovar in orthodox homes. Water may not be boiled nor tea brewed on the Sabbath, but if the tea is prepared in the samovar before the incoming of the Sabbath and a cup therefrom drunk, the beverage may be kept hot throughout the holy day without any infringement of the law. The various kinds of soups prepared by the Jewish housewife are also distinctive. The commonest is that served with *lokshen*, long strips of dough made of flour and eggs, like macaroni. The strips are sometimes cut into small squares, which are known as *farfil*. There is also a variety of sour soups, called *borschtsh*, the most popular of which are made of beetroot mixed with the yolk of eggs.

A peculiar aspect of the cuisine consists in the fact that special dishes are sacred to certain festivals or seasons of the year. The most important instance is the Feast of Passover, upon which no leavened bread may be eaten. The unleavened bread, in the form of large, thin, round biscuits, is not only a staple article of diet, but also an ingredient in most of the other dishes of the Passover week. The unleavened bread is ground into meal, with which little dumplings called *kneidlach* (Ger. *Knödel*) or *matza-kleis* are made and eaten with soup; and the meal is also the chief ingredient in various sorts of puddings and pancakes. A dish sacred to three occasions in the year—the Feast of Purim, the eve of the Day of Atonement, and the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles—is known as *kreplech*, consisting of little triangular meat-patties served with soup. Another delicacy peculiar to Purim is the *Haman-Tasche*, a kind of turnover filled with honey and black poppy-seed. On the day preceding the Fast of Ab the conventional dish is *milchige lokschen*, home-made macaroni boiled in milk; and on the Feast of Chanukah (in December) the special dainties are pancakes, called *latkies*, and fried scraps of the skin of a fowl, known as *gribenes*.

The foregoing description is merely a summary of the peculiarities of Jewish cookery, but it suffices to show that the cuisine is as distinctive an element in the social life of Jewry as in that of any nation living in a land of its own. Apart from his own peculiar dishes the observant Jew also adopts

those of his native country so far as they can be allowed by his dietary laws, and he imports them into any land to which he may emigrate. Thus, in the Jewish quarter of a Western city one may see displayed in the shop-windows the large dark-brown loaves reminiscent of the Polish Ghetto, the kegs of olives, cucumbers, and gherkins that hail from Holland, and the tureens of *suerkraut* and variegated sausages that owe their origin to Germany. But he who has departed from the religion of his forefathers is prone to adopt the cuisine of his environment without reserve and to indulge in all the forbidden meats that are anathema to the faithful. The disregard of the dietary laws is, as a rule, no sudden process, but undergoes a sort of development often occupying three or four generations, the first generation being merely lax about the dietary laws without committing any wilful transgression, the second disregarding the laws about the preparation of permitted meat and the mixture of meat and butter, the third indulging in forbidden dishes only at restaurants, and the fourth introducing them upon the table at home.

Outward distinction of dress is confined to countries which are either geographically or morally Eastern. In Poland the Jews cling with religious devotion to the sixteenth-century Polish costume of the long gaberdine, tied round with a girdle, and the round fur hat. Even boys of a tender age wear the gaberdine, while instead of the fur hat they have a cloth cap with a glazed peak. The well-to-do members of the community honour the Sabbath and festivals with a gaberdine of silk or satin and a hat of the finest fur; but there is no local variation in the costume of the Jewish women in those districts. There are certain distinctions in regard to dress, however, which are observed by orthodox Jews in all parts of the world. They will not wear a garment made of the mixed fabric forbidden by the Mosaic law and known as *shaatnez*, such as a mixture of linen and wool (Lev. xix. 19). Under their vest they wear a small praying-shawl (*Talith Katon*) in the shape of a chest-protector, made of cotton or wool, with a woollen fringe inserted in each of the four corners and arranged according to special regulations elaborated by the Rabbis from the Pentateuch (Num. xv. 37-41). This garment is also called *arba kanfoth* ("four corners"), or more popularly still *sizith* (fringes), and it is worn by a boy from his earliest years. The pious Jew regards it as irreverent to be bareheaded, and hence always wears a skull-cap at home, a custom rendered further necessary by frequent prayers and sacred study, for both of



which the head must be covered. To prevent the possibility of being bareheaded even for a moment he wears the skull-cap throughout the day and places over it his hat for outdoor wear when he leaves the house.

Law and custom also regulate the dressing of the hair in orthodox circles. The Mosaic prohibition of shaving, in Leviticus XIX. 27 ("Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard"), is rigidly upheld, but is regarded as applying only to the operation with a razor. Those who wish to remove the hair without infringing the law use scissors, clippers, or a chemical depilatory ; but the complete removal of the beard, by whatever means, is regarded by staunch adherents of orthodoxy as an infraction of Rabbinic law. In many parts of Eastern Europe, particularly Russia and Poland, the hair is allowed to grow on both sides of the head and to hang down in curls or ringlets, in strict conformity with the Levitical rule. In 1845 Nicholas I of Russia decreed that his Jewish subjects should discard this custom, together with their Polish costume ; but ear-locks (*peoth*) are still worn extensively in Eastern Europe, even by boys of a tender age, and they may be seen adorning the cheeks of pious Jews from the East who have migrated to a Western city. Married women are required by Rabbinical law not to expose their hair, on pain of being regarded wanton. Hence orthodox Jewesses after marriage wear a wig which completely covers their hair, while in the Orient they don a kerchief. In the Western world, however, both men and women for the most part disregard these customs and follow the local fashion.

## CHAPTER IV

### HOME LIFE AND CUSTOMS

The formative forces in home life—The religious factor in the daily regimen—Preparations for the Sabbath—At home on Friday night—The Sabbath day—Festival observances: Passover—Tabernacles—Other feasts—Fasts—Historical and local factors—The position of woman—Linguistic features—Last scene of all.

THE conditions and character of home life are determined by three main forces. The first consists of religious regulations, the second of historical development, and the third of local environment. The religious regulations are those embodied in the *Shulchan Aruch* ("Table Prepared"), the digest compiled by Rabbi Joseph Caro in the sixteenth century upon the basis of the Talmud and its many commentaries. This mediæval code controls and colours every movement in the daily life of the orthodox Jew; it governs every step in his earthly pilgrimage from the cradle to the grave. It prescribes with elaborate minuteness the varied observances for Sabbaths, feasts, and fasts, the customs and ceremonies for the principal events of human life, the relations that should prevail between husband and wife, between man and his neighbours. Prayer, diet, dress, charity, morality, and the functions of nature are all subjects of precise regulation. The *Shulchan Aruch* has thus imparted a fundamental uniformity to the scattered communities which would else have become diversified by local conditions, though its authority is no longer recognized so universally nor are its ordinances followed so scrupulously as in days gone by. The historic factor in domestic life has arisen from the growth and experiences of the community: it comprises social conventions, pastimes, folk-lore, and the peculiar amenities of family life. It prevails mostly in the old-established settlements in Eastern Europe, but on being transplanted by emigrants to the lands of the West it is gradually dissolved in an alien atmosphere. The influence of local environment is naturally restricted in point of extent, but it operates with a growing degree of intensity, for throughout the lands of the West, and in a lesser

degree even in the East, local habits and fashions tend to invade the home and to compete with the characteristic features of historic Judaism, triumphing over them where no conscious resistance is offered.

The preceding chapters have already afforded illustrations of the religious factors in home life, but they form only a fraction of the rites and observances that endow it with its specific character. Let us follow the daily movements of a conforming Jew, as enjoined by the *Shulchan Aruch*, which prescribes that he shall utter a hundred benedictions a day. No sooner does he wake in the morning than he pours water three times over each hand, for his hands are regarded as ritually unclean after the night's sleep, and he may not touch his face nor walk more than "four cubits" (about six feet) before performing the ablution. Nor may he walk beyond this limit with uncovered head or without wearing his garment of fringes, for he must ever be filled with a feeling of reverence for the Creator. The first important duty of the day is to offer up his prayers, but before he may do this he must cleanse himself by discharging his natural functions and bless the Creator for having fashioned him with the organs necessary for health. He then completes his toilet and proceeds from cleanliness to godliness. If he can he attends morning service in the synagogue and hurries thither to symbolize his zeal; otherwise he offers up his prayers at home, together with his sons. For twenty minutes or half an hour the room has the appearance of a miniature synagogue, the worshippers wearing the *talith* (praying-shawl) and *tephillin* (phylacteries) and voicing their Hebrew prayers in a quaint traditional cadence.

Only after completing his devotions may he take his breakfast, which, like every other meal, is attended with a ritual of benediction. He pours water three times over his hands, and while drying them blesses "the King of the Universe, who hath sanctified us with His commandments, and commanded us to cleanse the hands." He then says grace before meat: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth," and breaks bread. Brief as is this grace before the meal, that which comes after it is appreciably long, and then the members of the family disperse to their various occupations. In the Western world, where trains wait for no man, the morning devotions and grace are often sadly mutilated by the necessity of punctuality at office, factory, or school, but a compensating leisureliness may be observed in the devotions of the evening. An orthodox Jew

tries to attend the evening service at the synagogue not alone because of the religious virtue attaching thereto, but also because he may join a class of amateur students—tradesmen, artisans, pedlars, and the like—in their nightly study of the Talmud under the guidance of the Rabbi. But even if he should be unable to go to the house of prayer he will never fail in his devotions at home, and he will round off the programme of the day by studying a page of the Talmud, uttering the complicated argument in a peculiar chant-like air in the midst of the family circle. His leisure moments are devoted to the reading of Hebrew works, primarily those of religious lore, and he always finds time to con a newspaper, being as interested in international as in purely local affairs. Before retiring to bed he offers up a night-prayer in which he fervently declares : “ Into Thy hand I commit my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, God of truth,” and thrice repeats : “ Behold, the Guardian of Israel neither slumbereth nor sleepeth.”

The preparations for the Sabbath day are elaborate not only because honour must be shown to it by special dishes, but still more because no cooking may be done on that day ; and hence the Jewish housewife is busy marketing, cooking, and cleaning from Thursday morning till the setting of the sun on the following day. The kitchen presents a scene of bustle ; there is the baking of the twisted loaves, sprinkled with poppy seed in memory of the ancient manna, and of a large family cake ; the chopping of fish to make the boiled rissoles known as *gefüllter fisch*, and the frying in oil of other fish ; the preparing of the *lockschen* or macaroni for soup ; the plucking of a hen, killed by a ritual slaughterer, and its disembowelling, salting, and cooking ; and finally the cooking of the all-important *shaleet*. Add to these the sweets and sauces which the ingenuity of a diligent housewife may provide, and remember the rigid separation she must observe between meat and butter, and then one may acquire some notion of her task in preparing an orthodox welcome for the “ Sabbath bride.” The course of her labours may be suddenly interrupted by the discovery of a pin in the bowels of a hen, or some other ritual blemish, whereupon she must send the fowl to the Rabbi to inquire whether it is *kosher*. An adverse decision causes only passing irritation, for much more serious than the sacrifice of the fowl would have been the sin of eating it ; and besides, the forbidden bird can be sold to a Gentile neighbour. The housewife may also be interrupted by the calls of poor women, begging for the wherewithal to celebrate the Sabbath, and she gives them each a couple of

candles to light in honour of the holy day. In addition to cooking there is the work of cleaning and dusting to make the house look bright and festive : the Sabbath candlesticks, the cutlery, and the boots all receive a vigorous polish. In many a humble home these arduous preparations have to be carried out alone by the zealous housewife, burdened perchance with the cares of infant children, though her husband accounts it a religious virtue to help. He distils the raisin wine for the sanctification of the Sabbath, brews the tea in the samovar, and drinks the first cup so that he and his family may lawfully enjoy the hot beverage during the Day of Rest. So absorbing are these various tasks—for no work of any kind may be done from sunset on Friday for the next twenty-four hours—that there is hardly time to eat ; and indeed the upholders of tradition designedly eat little during the day so that they may develop a keen appetite for the evening repast. The conforming Jew also takes a hot bath, trims his hair, pares his nails, and dons his best clothes. With a feeling of relief the mistress of the house applies herself to her final duty—the decking of the table. She covers it with a white linen cloth, places at the head the two twisted loaves, symbolical of the double portion of manna gathered in the Wilderness of Sinai on the Sabbath eve, and covers them with a fancy cloth, generally of dark red velvet with a Hebrew design or benediction embroidered with gilt thread. She puts the bottle of raisin wine or some superior decoction near the bread, and the candlesticks of brass or copper or silver, sometimes two and sometimes four, containing wax candles, at the opposite end. Then she lights the wicks, and covering her eyes with her palms she offers up the Hebrew prayer : “ Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us to kindle the Sabbath light.” Thus she welcomes the Day of Rest, and with her daughters she awaits the return of her husband and sons from the synagogue, whither they have gone to join in the service of psalmody from which naught but sickness can excuse their absence.

An air of peace and contentment fills even the humblest home on Friday night. The snow-white cloth, illumined by the sacred lights and adorned with the velvet mantle of the twin loaves and the wine of sanctification, changes the lowly abode into a place of delight, from which all the toil and turmoil of the week are banished : the genial scene is infused with a spiritual glow and touched with an Eastern glamour. Amid joyous greetings of “ Good Sabbath ! ” the husband and sons

are welcomed home, and the ties of family affection are drawn still closer by poetic ceremonial. The father, placing his hands on the heads of his children, pronounces a blessing in Biblical diction, invoking the favour of God to make his sons "like Ephraim and Manasseh," and his daughters like "Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah." And he sings the praises of his wife in the glowing panegyric of the Book of Proverbs (xxxv), fashioned as an acrostic on the Hebrew alphabet, to a traditional air: "A virtuous woman who can find? For her price is far above rubies." And then, the family gathered round the table, he recites the sanctification over the wine, in which he recalls how God "rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made, and God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it." He drinks of the wine and passes the cup round the table; and after laving his hands in the ritual manner and saying grace, he cuts one of the loaves and distributes a piece to all present. The family circle often includes a poor stranger, a Sabbath guest, who has been invited home from synagogue in accordance with the ethical precept of "hospitality to wayfarers." The guest is soon put at his ease and joins in the conversation, and if he be a Russian or Rumanian immigrant seeking asylum in a Western land he regales his hosts with stories of his sad experiences. Between the courses there is a brief interlude for the singing of hymns, with spirited refrains, which proclaim the duties and pleasures of Sabbath observance. Grace after meat is recited with many melodious passages, in some of which the whole company joins, and the house is filled with the joyous strains of Hebrew minstrelsy. Presently the sound of sacred song is heard again, for the father of the household chants the current portion of the Pentateuch to a quaint Oriental air, in which his sons occasionally join.

It is the one night of the week when, in many circles, all the members of the family gather together to indulge in the pleasures of conversation. They may not perform on a musical instrument or smoke, but they may diversify the evening by a game of chess, though as a rule the conversation is sustained with sufficient vigour to dispense with adventitious pastimes. Even in homes where the ritual of the Sabbath is not strictly kept the night is regarded as sacred to domestic intercourse, and the family circle is not broken up even by the most tempting attractions outside. For the orthodox visits to places of public amusement are out of the question, as they would involve the handling of money, and perhaps the use of a vehicle, both acts that are forbidden on the sacred day. But those who are keen

upon seeing a play avoid transgressing the letter of the law by booking seats in advance and walking to and from the theatre, although conscious that they are departing from the traditional observance of the day. They, however, who remain at home help to conserve the spirit of the ages, the genius of the Sabbath as celebrated in diverse climes through the changing centuries. Naught can compare with the feeling of cheerfulness and intimacy that fills the peaceful household on this night, the hallowed candles shedding their beaming rays and making playful shadows, the samovar steaming invitingly on the table, and the ambrosial fragrance of the morrow's *shalet* diffusing a sense of epicurean bliss. And in harmony with the genial scene is the theme of conversation, parents telling their children tales of the olden days when Israel had a kingdom of his own, or of the mediæval times when he was doomed to the dungeon and the stake, or stories of the wise men in the past ; or the older members of the group may engage in a discussion on a Talmudical problem or the destinies of their people, all heedless of which the youngsters slowly drop off to sleep. The pleasant discourse flows on unruffled until the servant enters to put out the lights, for no Jew may kindle or extinguish fire on the holy day (Exod. xxxv. 3). But the Sabbath candles must not be touched : they are left to burn unto the end, and the conversation is often continued until the last feeble flicker of the dying wick leaves all in the gloom that enwraps the future.

The prohibition to handle fire on the Sabbath has produced a special character, the *Shabbos-goyah* or "Sabbath Gentile," who, in houses where there is no non-Jewish servant, attends to the lights and fires and performs any other domestic work forbidden to the Jew. These functions are usually discharged by the charwoman who has helped in the preparations earlier in the day ; but there are hundreds of thousands of homes where even a charwoman on a week-day is a luxury. But on the Sabbath, Gentile assistance is necessary for all who would keep the Law, and hence even the poorest home cannot dispense with a "fire-woman," as she is called in English parlance. The "fire-woman" usually looks after a number of houses in the same district, and her charge, which is called "fire-money," is quite moderate, amounting to only a few pence for the day.

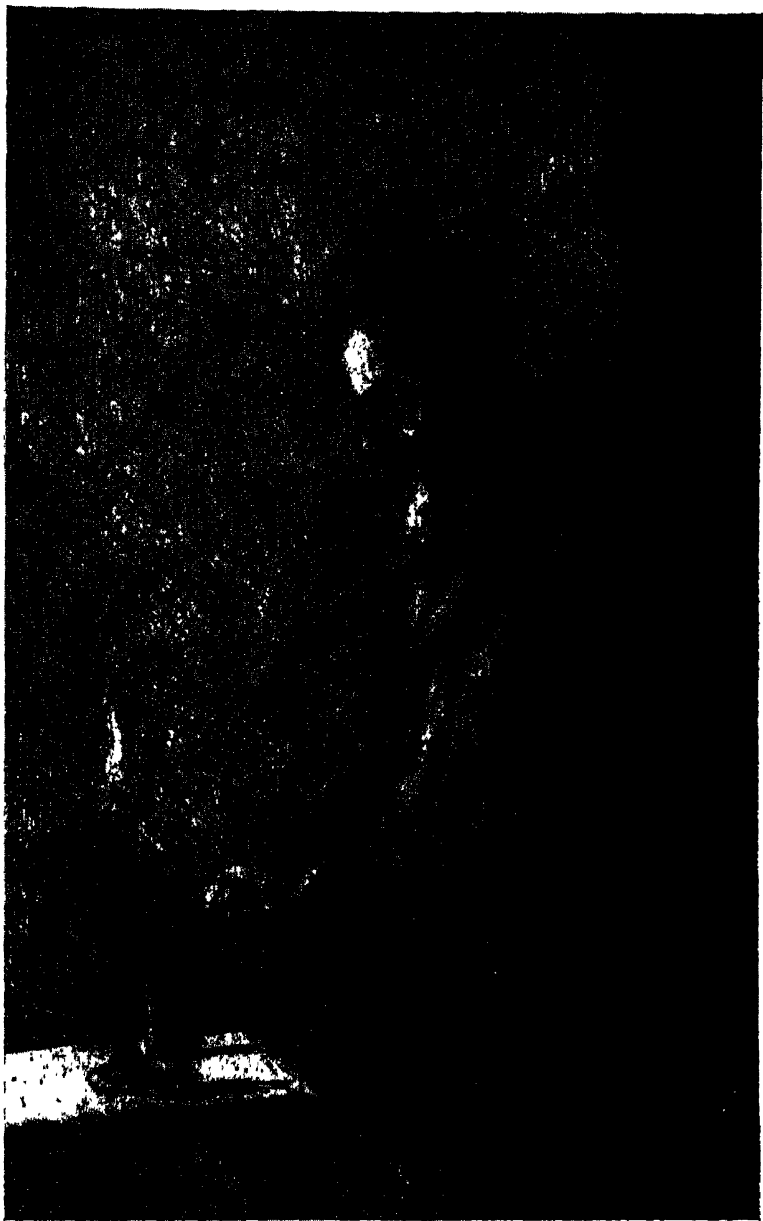
Early on the Sabbath morning the observant Jew wends his way to synagogue, to attend a service that lasts from two to three hours. He goes breakfastless, for he may eat no food until he has offered up his prayers ; the only refreshment he takes is a glass of tea from the inexhaustible samovar. As it is almost

noon before he is home again he often combines breakfast with dinner, eating the joint repast with becoming leisureliness, and chanting with contentment the Sabbath hymns after consuming the succulent *shalet*. In the afternoon he indulges in a nap, examines the progress of his young sons in their Hebrew studies, and very often listens to a long Talmudical discourse, which follows the afternoon service in the synagogue. Morning sermons are not the fashion in his house of prayer, for no *Derasha* (discourse) worthy of the name can be delivered under an hour and a half, and to prolong the morning service to such an extent would arouse the pangs of hunger even among the most zealous, and so violate the tranquil spirit of the day. Even if there be no Talmudic homily to detain him he often lingers in the house of prayer to engage in mundane converse until the concluding prayers of the Sabbath at sunset, for to him and all his circle the synagogue is also a social rendezvous. But in the long summer afternoons he returns home to take a third meal, for the code ordains that he shall eat three meals in honour of the Sabbath, a sumptuary law which he will not willingly transgress.

When the final service of the day, begun in the thickening shadows and concluded amid the lighting of lamps, is over, he wends his way home, greets the family with "*Gut Woch*" (Good Week), and ushers out the sacred day with the ceremony of *Habdalah* (Separation) just enacted in the synagogue, which indicates the transition to the working day. He pours wine into a cup, lets it flow over to symbolize the Divine bounty which he wishes to enjoy in the coming week, and utters a benediction. He takes a spice-box, shakes it, and inhales the pungent fragrance, to typify the "additional soul" with which the Sabbath, according to tradition, has endowed him. He places his hands against a plaited wax-light, generally held by a younger son (who is jestingly admonished to hold it higher if he desires a tall bride), and bending the fingers inwards he marks the contrast between the shadow within and the light without and blesses "the Creator of the light of fire." And in a closing benediction he blesses the King of the Universe for having made a distinction "between the holy and the profane, between light and darkness, between Israel and the nations, between the seventh day and the six days of creation." He sips the wine and passes it round to the males<sup>1</sup>; he extinguishes the taper in the ruddy overflow in the plate. The day

<sup>1</sup> Women do not partake of the wine of *Habdalah*, as they are supposed to have less interest in the resumption of work.





THE TERMINATION OF THE SABBATH

*From the Etching by Hermann Struck*



of rest is over and the week of work has begun again, and he meets its cares and troubles with a lilting hymn and a glad refrain :

“ He who profane from holy parts,  
Our sins He will forgive ;  
Our seed, our means He will increase  
Like sand, like stars of night.

“ My voice, let not be turned aside ;  
The gate of favour ope,  
My head with dew doth overflow,  
My locks with drops of night.

“ Lord, in Thine hand we are like clay ;  
Forgive the light and grave,  
For speech day utters unto day,  
And night to ev'ry night.”

Life in the home presents the same general features on festivals as on the Sabbath, with differences of ceremonial and diet due to each special occasion. The most striking differences are those connected with the Feast of Passover and Tabernacles, which are both observed with rites in which historic memories, poetic symbolism, and religious legalism are all intertwined. Passover involves a culinary revolution, for all leavened food must be removed from the house, the crockery and cutlery used throughout the year must be replaced by the special sets reserved for the festival, and a staple factor of the week's diet is the brittle unleavened bread first baked by the Israelites on their flight from Egypt. The distinguishing feature of the celebration, which is peculiarly rich in picturesque ceremonial, is the service of praise and prayer offered up on the first two nights around the festive table, upon which, beside the gleaming candles, are the dishes that symbolize the Egyptian bondage and the divine redemption. The Sabbath loaves are replaced by three cakes of unleavened bread, representing the “bread of affliction.” A bowl of bitter herbs recalls the bitterness of the Pharaonic oppression ; a pasty confection of almonds and spices, into which the bitter herbs are dipped before they are eaten, typifies the mortar wherewith the cities of Pithom and Rameses were built ; the shank-bone of a lamb represents the Paschal offering of Temple days ; and a roasted egg stands for the private offering made by every Jew on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem three times a year in the romantic past. And before each member of the family group is a glass of wine which must be filled and emptied

four times at fixed intervals in the service, in memory of the fourfold utterance in which the Almighty announced the redemption.<sup>1</sup> An extra cup of wine is kept ready for any possible guest and is called "the cup of Elijah," as the guest most desired is Elijah, the forerunner of the Messiah.

The prayers narrate the history of the departure from Egypt and explain the meaning of the several rites connected with the celebration, and hence they are called *Haggadah* (recital). The order of the service is known as *Seder* or "Order," and the first two evenings of Passover are called "*Seder* evenings." This domestic celebration is in many cases the only occasion of a family reunion throughout the year, and thus serves other than purely religious objects; whilst the interest of the children is aroused by assigning to the youngest present the duty of asking four questions in regard to the distinguishing features of the evening.

It is the custom on the Feast of Tabernacles to live as much as possible in a tabernacle or booth for seven days, in memory of the tents in which the children of Israel dwelt during their wanderings in the wilderness. The booth is a small temporary structure of wood, built generally at the back of the house, with a roof of rushes that lets in the daylight. The duty of "dwelling" therein is interpreted by staunch pietists to include not only eating but sleeping; but as the festival falls at the end of September, when cold nights in the Western world would make sleep in such an abode uncomfortable, the great majority of the orthodox fold are content simply to have their meals and receive their friends there. The booth is generally home-made, and all members of the family, especially the younger ones, take a delight in helping in its erection. The interior is decorated with pictures, religious emblems and Hebrew mottoes, and from the roof hang clusters of fruit, which give to the rude structure the appearance of a rustic bower in an Eastern land, and recall "the feast of ingathering" in ancient Palestine which the festival also commemorates. At nightfall, when the booth is lit up by the candles that have been blessed by the housewife, and the family are gathered around the table, the pious paterfamilias raises his voice in tuneful melody as he intones the sanctification over the wine, quickly to be followed by his neighbours in the tabernacles near by, and thus a chorus

<sup>1</sup> Exodus vi, 6-7: "And I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgments: and I will take you to me for a people."

of Hebrew thanksgiving rises unto the starlit heavens throughout the globe four thousand years after the wandering tribe dwelt in booths in the Wilderness of Sinai.

The other festivals have also a domestic side to their observance, though not to such an impressive extent. Pentecost, the second of the three pilgrim feasts, is the least endowed with special ceremonial: the only custom is that of sitting up the greater part of the first night and reading passages from the Scriptures and the Talmud, for the festival commemorates the giving of the Law. New Year is the occasion for an effusive exchange of friendly wishes, which are communicated in Western lands largely through the medium of private cards and the columns of the Press; whilst the festive repast is begun with a sweet apple dipped in honey, to typify the year of sweetness for which everybody prays. The final meal on the Eve of the Day of Atonement is consumed with an air of solemnity, the grace being uttered in a tearful voice; whilst the fast is broken with a meal accompanied by every sign of joy and festivity. The feast of Dedication (*Chanukah*), which commemorates the victory of the Maccabees over the Syrians, is a feast of light and song which makes a potent appeal to children. On the first night one light, and on each succeeding evening a further light must be kindled, so that a row of eight beaming lights illumines the home on the last night; and the children who have helped in the kindling, join in the gleeful hymn which tells of the rededication of the Temple after its pollution by the Syrian foe. Spending-money (*Chanukah Geld*) is given to the youngsters, who also demand a similar bounty on Purim (*Purim Geld*), wherewith to celebrate the downfall of Haman with fitting rejoicing. The latter festival is the occasion, particularly in Eastern Europe, for amateur theatricals, the favourite performance being a Hebrew or Yiddish play, with Esther and Mordecai as the heroes and Haman as the villain. A simpler form of entertainment is provided by two or three minstrels, who generally go in some sort of disguise from house to house, fiddling and singing all manner of merry songs. Three-corned turnovers filled with honey and black poppy-seed, and known as *Hamantaschen*, are eaten; modest gifts are exchanged between friends in accordance with the custom prescribed in the Book of Esther; and the youngsters make a rollicking din with their rattles to proclaim anew the discomfiture of the wicked Haman. It is an occasion when merry-making amounts to a duty, and a liberal indulgence in strong drink is even recommended by the orthodox code, a counsel

faithfully adopted by those who would make a virtue of their failings.

The fasts of the calendar likewise find external expression in the home, since no food or drink may be taken by anybody above the age of thirteen, the year in which religious responsibility is attained. The house is often closed on the Day of Atonement, for the whole family are in the synagogue from early morn till sunset. On the four fast days kept in commemoration of events connected with the fall of Jerusalem (Zech. VIII. 19) the Jew may attend to his ordinary work, and the home almost presents its usual aspect, save for the absence of meals. But on the ninth of Ab (August), the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple, he may not wear boots or shoes of leather, nor greet his friends, in token of the sadness of the day.

Prominent as these national and religious anniversaries are in moulding and colouring home life in Jewry, they do not dominate it to the exclusion of other factors, for there are also features due to historical development and local environment. To the former category belong the peculiarities of language employed by Jews, their peculiar greetings, expletives, idioms, proverbs, folk-songs—all the elements of the distinctive culture evolved through the centuries. The features due to local environment are as varied as the environments themselves. They prevail predominantly, but not exclusively, in Western lands, and in proportion as they invade and dominate the Jewish home, the latter loses its distinctive character.

The home is the dominion of the Jewish woman: hers is the duty of safeguarding its purity religiously, morally, and ritually, a task which demands unceasing vigilance and leaves little leisure for extra domestic labours. The Jewish woman is trained in the ways of modesty and taught that chastity is the highest virtue. This lesson is enforced upon the eve of marriage by the custom of replacing her maiden tresses by a matronly wig, to avert admiration from any other but her husband. Even before marriage she may not be in the company of men, except under the closest chaperonage, and at social gatherings she and her sisters must entertain themselves in one room, whilst the men are in another. She dances with her own sex too, or if she dances with a man she may not touch his hand, but holds one end of a handkerchief while he holds another, and thus they trip it decorously. This rigorous separation of the sexes prevails only in certain circles in Russia, Poland, and the lands of the East, though even in Western countries the pious look askance at social intercourse between men and

women. But the tendency to discard these habits of the Orient is steadily progressing. The Jewish woman upon marriage abandons any occupation she may have followed for a living, in order to devote herself completely to her wifely duties ; and if her husband be too poor to allow this sacrifice she gives up her work at least as soon as she looks forward to motherhood. Her natural instinct to give utterance to her emotions in song is discouraged by a puritanical rule of the Talmud : " A voice in a woman is lewdness," but it is too strong and primeval to be suppressed by law. She sings lullabies and folk-songs, simple Yiddish compositions that have all the charm of popular ballads, inspired by traditional ideals and echoing with national sorrows. She sings to her baby-boy of the study of the Torah and the pursuit of trade, the twin ideal of the Eastern Jew ; and croons over her baby-girl a ditty in which she pictures her already as a mother, revealing the insistent sense of maternity that animates the women of her race. No insipid rhymes about mythical monsters are her cradle-songs, but serious reflections on daily life :

" A little while together we will play,  
And then to school the child must quickly go,  
Where he will learn the Torah's happy way,  
And good reports to us will daily flow."

Thus from the cradle does the child inhale a spirit of earnestness.

This distinctive influence of the nursery prevails only in those communities that have evolved a specifically Jewish culture, namely in the East, whilst it has extended to the Western Ghettos to which this culture is transplanted. It is part of the general intellectual atmosphere, of which the language spoken, whether Yiddish or Ladino, with all its peculiarities of speech and current idioms, forms so important an element. For the Jew born and bred in the strongholds of Jewish tradition has his own individual way of expressing himself, his own peculiar greetings, oaths, and proverbs. He has a primitive mode of nomenclature, addressing his neighbours by their forename with a title of respect, such as " Reb Samuel " (Mr. Samuel —) or " Reb David," or denominating them by some physical or social characteristic such as " the red Michael," " the tall Archik," " the Lomzha *Melammed*" (teacher), or " Chaye *die Shmaye*" (the gossip). If he is ignorant of a man's name he addresses him simply as " *Landsmann*" (countryman) or, somewhat whimsically as " *Reb*

*Yid*" (Mr. Jew). His time-honoured Hebrew greeting is "*Shalom aleichem*" (Peace unto you), to which his friend responds with "*Aleichem shalom*." On the Sabbath the greeting is "*Gut Shabbos*," or among the Sephardim, "*Shabbat Shalom*"; on the festivals "*Gut Yomtov*" (Good holy-day); and at the close of Sabbaths and festivals "*Gut Woch*" (Good week). Should a person visit his friend whilst the latter is seated at table he exclaims in Hebrew: "Blessed be he that sitteth!" and should one of them sneeze the other calls out, "*Asusah*" or "*Zu Gesund*" (Good health!). The usual formula of congratulation is "*Mazzol Tov*!" (Good luck!), while in drinking a toast the wish expressed is "*Lechayim*!" (For life!). These are but the commonest forms of greeting in the course of daily conversation, which contains a multitude of idioms.

We come now to the last scene of all, and the panorama of domestic life will be complete. The Jew beholds the approach of the shadow of Death into his home with poignant grief, for his family affection is strong and deep-rooted. He does not lightly reconcile himself to the loss of his flesh and blood; he offers up Psalms in a wailing voice by the bedside or in an adjoining room, hoping that the Almighty will hear and have mercy. He selects verses from the alphabetical Psalm cxix that correspond to the letters of the name of the stricken one, believing that this acrostic of propitiation will work with potent charm. And when he sees that the breath grows feebler, and the deathly pallor deeper, and that all hope is vain, he utters the declaration of faith for the dying to repeat: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one. Blessed be the name of His glorious Kingdom for ever and ever. The Lord, He is God. The Lord, He is God." For some moments he refrains from touching the body, to make sure that life is extinct, and then he closes the eyes and covers the face of the dead. He makes a rent in his garment, as also do the other members of the family, and all who hear of the sad news respond: "Blessed be the true Judge." The body is washed by the members of a "Holy Brotherhood" with traditional rites, and a *talith* (praying-shawl)—symbol of the faith of the synagogue—is wrapped around it before it is laid into the coffin. Many relatives and friends join in the funeral procession, for to accompany the dead to their last resting-place is a deed of enduring merit. An oil-wick is lit in memory of the soul that has fled and is kept alight for a whole week. When the mourners return home the father and brothers of the departed, first laving their hands before entering, exchange



their leathern footgear for slippers of cloth, and sit on low stools in token of sorrow. They break their fast with a modest meal of bread and hard-boiled eggs, which typify by their lack of an opening the sealed lips of the mourner. The frugal repast is prepared by a neighbour, for the mourners may not eat of their own cooking at the first meal after the burial. For seven days (*Shiva*) they sit at home and mourn, abstaining from work and even from a careful toilet. Three times a day they hold divine service, in which friends and members of their synagogue join, and they offer up the prayer of *Kaddish* (sanctification) in honour of the memory of the departed. They study the pages of Holy Writ, above all the Book of Job, to solace their grief, and of an evening the Rabbi expounds a page of the Talmud or a chapter of the Scriptures to the friends who come to console and remain to pray. "May the Omnipresent comfort you among the rest of the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem!" is the consolation uttered by visitors as they leave the house, the words in which the precentor on the Sabbath eve welcomes the mourners back to the synagogue. And whenever the name of the dead is mentioned henceforth, it is coupled with the pious invocation: "Peace upon him!" and upon every anniversary of the event (*Jahrzeit*) an oil-wick is lit in the home and the *Kaddish* prayer is offered up by the nearest relative in the synagogue.

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## CHAPTER V

### PHILANTHROPY

" For the poor shall never cease out of the land ; therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land."—Deuteronomy xv. 11.

Charity a basic principle of Jewish life—Administration in ancient and mediæval times—Modern principles of administration—Local organizations—Methods of relief—Personal service—The financial burden—Orphanages, hospitals, and almshouses—The relief of Eastern Jewry—Principal relief organizations—Emigration and exceptional calamities.

THE practice of charity is a basic principle of Jewish life and forms a prominent feature of every communal organization. Ordained in the Pentateuch as a commandment, and emphasized throughout the Bible as a social duty, the relief of the poor has from the earliest times always received the willing aid of the individual and the zealous care of the community. In all the centuries of gloom and oppression that have lain so heavily upon the people of Israel, the cry of the needy has never failed to be heard. Wealth was considered as a trust from the Almighty, of which a just stewardship required the giving of a portion to the poor who stood under His especial protection. The corner of the field, the gleanings of the harvest, the forgotten sheaf, and the growth of the seventh year, were all, according to the law of Moses, to be left to the poor. The lofty place accorded to charity in the Jewish scale of ethical virtues is best attested by its Hebrew equivalent, *zedakah*, which means " righteousness." The giving of alms formed the supreme factor of a righteous life in ancient Israel, and many were the Biblical maxims that were interpreted by the sages of the Talmud in this sense, and many the doctrines and parables uttered by them in enjoining the virtue. " Righteousness delivereth from death " (Prov. xi. 4) meant " Charity delivereth from death," an interpretation that found expression in the custom that still prevails of collecting alms at a funeral in a box styled " the *zedakah* box." The potency thus ascribed to charity is also proclaimed in pregnant terms in the synagogue ritual of New Year and the Day of Atonement : " Repentance, prayer, and charity avert

the evil decree," a doctrine that still produces an effusive display of benevolence on the eve of those solemn festivals. Nor is it enough merely to give alms, but personal kindness must also be shown, as in hospitality to wayfarers, visiting the sick, and dowering the bride. So highly was the attribute of personal kindness esteemed by the Rabbis of ancient times that according to Simon the Just<sup>1</sup> it formed with the Torah and divine worship the triple foundation upon which the world rested. Moreover, it is the kindness shown in bestowing alms which, according to another sage, decides a man's final reward.<sup>2</sup> The particular needs of the poor must be studied and suitably relieved—such was the meaning of the Psalmist in declaring: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor" (XLI. 2). The feelings of the poor man must also be respected, and hence "giving in secret" is the most estimable method of help.

Charity became a matter of public administration in Jewry in the earliest centuries of the Christian era, and the following branches of benevolent activity are enumerated in Rabbinical literature<sup>3</sup>: feeding the hungry and giving the thirsty to drink, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, burying the dead and comforting the mourners, redeeming the captive, educating the fatherless and sheltering the homeless, and providing poor maidens with dowries. In every community there was a charity-box (*Kuppah*) from which every Friday doles were given to the poor of the town for their meals during the following week and for clothing, and likewise to needy wayfarers; and there was also a charity-bowl (*tamhui*) containing victuals needed for immediate relief. The funds for the charity-box were collected by two trustworthy men and administered by three overseers, styled *gabba'e zedakah* or *parnassim* (from *πρὸνοος*), who were chosen from the foremost members of the community, and who once included in their number the martyr Rabbi Akiba.<sup>4</sup> The overseers of the poor, anticipating the methods of a modern charity board, decided upon the merits and claims of the applicants before granting them aid: a woman was given precedence before a man, and a student of the Law before an ignoramus, whilst care was taken not to put anyone to shame. In addition to the distribution of alms there was in the early and mediæval centuries a communal hostel where the poor traveller obtained food and shelter, and also an asylum (*hekdesb*) which served both as a home for the poor and as a hospital for the sick and aged. In the course of time the

<sup>1</sup> *Aboth*, I., 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Moed Kat*, 27b; *Semahot* XII.

<sup>3</sup> *Succah*, 49b.

<sup>4</sup> *Kidd.*, 28a.

primitive charity-bowl was superseded by private hospitality or communal kitchens and by the activity of benevolent societies, whilst the relief from the charity-box gradually developed into the manifold activity of a properly organized charitable society. In the Middle Ages such societies were already at work in every Jewish community in Europe for maintaining and clothing the poor, for educating the children of the poor, endowing poor maidens, rearing and educating orphans, visiting the sick, aiding sick and lying-in women, sheltering the aged, giving the poor a free burial, and ransoming prisoners<sup>1</sup>—the last being a form of benevolence that had frequently to be exercised by the Spanish and Italian Jews owing to the repeated captures of their brethren by corsairs of the Mediterranean.

All the methods of charity observed in ancient and mediæval Jewry are practised with undiminished zeal at the present day, not even excepting the ransoming of prisoners, as exemplified in certain countries during the Great War. They have, moreover, undergone a considerable expansion and development in consequence of the changed conditions of modern times, which have produced additional needs, whilst the system of administration has been adapted to modern principles and is conducted by a voluntary committee aided by paid officials. Nay, in certain respects, such as the granting of loans without interest and the provision of medical relief, the organization of charity in Jewry may be said to have anticipated the methods of philanthropy in the world at large. So instinctive is the exercise of benevolence among a people that has suffered more than all other nations in history that its societies for this purpose invariably outnumber the communal associations for any other object. When the Jews in 1654 first settled in New York, then called New Netherlands, and the governor, Peter Stuyvesant, wished to expel them, the directors of the Dutch West Indies Company instructed him that they were to have permission to remain there "provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or the community, but be supported by their own nation." This stipulation simply accorded with the traditional principle of communal administration in Jewry, which has always looked after the relief of its own poor. But although the Jews have voluntarily assumed this task, a burden that is readily though not easily borne in every country, they do not by any means confine their benevolence to their own community, but are also usually

<sup>1</sup> See I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, Chaps. XVII.-XVIII. (London, 1896).

among the first and most generous donors in every cause of humanity, such as the support of hospitals or the relief of the victims of some extraordinary catastrophe—a fire, an earthquake, a shipwreck, or a war.

It would be impossible here to trace the history and organization of the principal charitable bodies in the leading centres of Jewry: such a task would demand a volume for itself. It must suffice to refer briefly to the establishment of some of the foremost institutions of this kind, and to give a general survey of the main branches of charitable work conducted in modern Jewry. Many of the institutions in London date from the middle of the eighteenth century; there were special almshouses already in 1823, and the famous Orphan Asylum was founded in 1831. The Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor, which superseded a number of synagogue committees, was founded in 1859, although the parallel Board of the older Sephardic community has been active since 1837. In Paris the various societies were amalgamated as early as 1809 as the *Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite de Paris*, which, in addition to providing relief in money and kind, promptly established a complete hospital service for the poor. In most of the large cities on the Continent, such as Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Amsterdam, and Warsaw, the relief of the poor is administered not by an independent board, as in London and Paris, but by a commission of the Communal Council, representing a union of the synagogues, which levies a special tax for the purpose. In the younger community of New York the first important charitable society, the German Hebrew Benevolent Society, was founded in 1859, and a few years later the Independent Order Bnai Brith established a number of hospitals, orphan asylums, and homes for the Jewish poor in various cities of the United States. Similar in character to the London Board of Guardians, though, of course, more restricted in scope, are the boards that are found in almost every Jewish centre in the British Empire; and to the same category belong the Jewish philanthropic societies in New York and other cities of the United States. Whilst the central body in each community grants relief of all kinds, there are hosts of other local agencies which afford some special kind of aid to a more limited circle, such as the distribution of food and clothing and the dowering of poor marriageable girls. In New York alone there are over one thousand philanthropic societies in the Jewish community, ministering to every conceivable need of the helpless, whilst in American Jewry as

a whole there are 13,000 local relief institutions, spending 15½ million dollars per annum. Owing to this multiplicity a system of federation of charities has been established in over fifty cities in the United States, so that economy is effected and competition avoided in raising the income. A distinctive feature of many of the subsidiary societies, notably in the British Empire and America, is that they are formed by immigrants hailing from the same country or even the same town, who no sooner find themselves on a sure footing in their adopted home than they organize measures for the aid of their fellow-countrymen or townsmen, their former companions in distress. Apart from all this organized benevolence there is an untold amount of private charity, even among the working classes themselves, and it is no unusual phenomenon in an English town to see a couple of respectably dressed men or women on a Sunday collecting small gifts from door to door in aid of a distressed family.

The principle by which the leading Jewish charities are guided is to assist the poor to become self-supporting and useful members of society. Every case is carefully investigated before relief is given so as to prevent imposture or pauperization, and to stimulate the sense of self-help. Before the Great War the majority of the applicants for relief in England and America were recent immigrants from Eastern Europe, and although immigration to these countries has now been considerably reduced by the policy of restriction, the foreign-born element still predominates among those in quest of assistance. The commonest form of aid is a weekly allowance, which is continued until the recipient is able to earn a living. But very often the aid takes the form of a loan, which is granted without interest and is repaid in weekly instalments, the margin of loss incurred being surprisingly small.<sup>1</sup> It is by means of such a loan that many an immigrant obtains his first start in the struggle that faces him in his new world, and which, by dint of perseverance and thrift, he overcomes so successfully that he not only repays the debt but becomes a subscriber to the charity that helped him. In more serious cases, such as that of a widow with a family dependent upon her or a man disabled from work by age or infirmity, a fixed allowance or pension is granted. A great amount of relief is also given in

<sup>1</sup> The loan committee of the London Jewish Board of Guardians stated in the Annual Report for 1913 that in forty-seven years the bad debts had not exceeded 2½ per cent. Out of £26,000 lent in 1928 the bad debts incurred amounted to only £311, i.e. little over 1 per cent.

kind, in the form of food (bread, meat, groceries), clothing, and coal, as well as through the medium of soup-kitchens, which exist in most large cities—London, Paris, Berlin, Budapest, Warsaw, and other centres. A special occasion for the distribution of victuals is the eve of the Passover, when *matzos* (unleavened bread) and flour are given to the poor for the proper celebration of this important festival; though the observance of the other festivals too, and indeed of the Sabbath itself, which involves somewhat more than a frugal fare, often necessitates a special distribution of food. Moreover, many important charities provide day nurseries to look after the children of mothers who have to work away from home; they maintain workrooms for unskilled women and girls who learn sufficient of a simple trade, sewing or embroidery, to be able afterwards to support themselves; they conduct employment bureaux; they apprentice boys to manual trades and afterwards supply them with tools; they grant special allowances in cases of maternity; they conduct dispensaries where free medicine is given and almshouses where the aged needy have a peaceful retreat. Besides, there are homes for the incurable, for the convalescent, and for the deaf and dumb. There is, indeed, no want of the deserving poor which is not attended to with thoughtful care and relieved in the most fitting manner.

The assistance is not confined to material aid, but is supplemented by personal visitation, in accordance with the traditional Jewish practice of bestowing kindness (*gemiluth hesed*). The system of tendering personal advice and kindly help by voluntary visitors, mainly women, in the homes of the poor is practised in almost all the large Jewish centres in Western Europe and America, and forms a valuable factor in preventing pauperization. In America these visitors are organized as "sisterhoods," and they are so welcome among those to whom they minister that they are called "mothers of the poor." The principle underlying this system has also prompted the formation of mothers' meetings and girls' clubs, where friendly talks are held or instruction is given in domestic management, hygiene, and simple accomplishments (such as embroidery or drawing), so that the poor may forget their poverty or at least suffer the least hurt therefrom. But should all the aids available in a city fail to make a recipient of relief self-supporting he is given the means to travel to some other Jewish centre where his prospects of finding remunerative work may be better, and where, on arrival, he is lodged in a temporary shelter. Thanks to the friendly co-operation between the charity boards

of different towns a Jewish vagrant is an extremely rare phenomenon.

The local charitable bodies in the leading cities of the Western world effect their purpose on the whole in helping to render the poor immigrant independent of support after a few years: both in London and New York the frequency of application for aid by the arrivals of any particular year diminishes in every succeeding year.<sup>1</sup> Owing to the great reduction of immigration the number of cases assisted in each year is much less than it was before the Great War and has, indeed, become rather uniform.<sup>2</sup> This diminution of relief is only partly due to a decline in the volume of immigration from the lands of oppression: it is in the main due to the industry, perseverance, and thrift of the poor themselves, which are further evidenced in the growing number of mutual loan societies and friendly benefit societies in all English-speaking countries. The burden of poor relief, however, is heavy enough. The London Board has disbursed an average of £37,000 per annum in direct relief (exclusive of the cost of administration) during the last few years, whilst about half that amount is spent by various other charitable societies in London. In 1926 the Berlin community disbursed £125,000 on poor relief and hospitals, the Vienna community £50,000 for similar purposes in 1925, and the Paris *Comité de Bienfaisance* £16,000 in 1927. The largest Jewish community in the world, that of New York, expended on various forms of charity in 1924 a sum of over £883,000. In the United States, in 1926, 66 federations of relief societies jointly spent £2,515,000, but this was only a fraction of the total sum spent on Jewish philanthropic work.<sup>3</sup> The funds for charitable purposes in English-speaking countries are derived almost exclusively from voluntary subscriptions and bequests,

<sup>1</sup> Of 1000 families who had originally applied to the United Hebrew Charities, in New York, for assistance in October, 1894, as many as 602 no longer applied after December, 1894, and only 23 were still obtaining assistance in October, 1904. (*The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 66.)

<sup>2</sup> Cases dealt with by:

(a) The London Board of Guardians:

1909.....	4859	(1062 new cases).
1913.....	3348	{ 772 " " }.
1923.....	2418	{ 565 " " }.
1924.....	2444	{ 616 " " }.
1925.....	2357	{ 577 " " }.
1926.....	2160	{ 574 " " }.
1927.....	2448	{ 656 " " }.
1928.....	2503	{ 1002 " " }.

(b) Jewish Social Service Association (formerly United Hebrew Charities), New York:

1902.....	8125 families.
1912.....	4589 " "
1922.....	2247 " "
1925.....	1971 " "

(c) United Jewish Aid Society, Brooklyn:

1915.....	1831 cases.
1924.....	668 " "

<sup>3</sup> *American Jewish Year Book*, 1927-28, p. 72.



whilst in most Continental countries the major portion of the funds is provided by a communal tax.<sup>1</sup>

The particular care of the community has always been bestowed upon the orphan, the sick, and the aged. Special asylums for orphan children, in which they were sheltered, clothed, and educated, were founded as early as the eighteenth century, and they now exist in nearly every country with a considerable Jewish population. The Orphan Asylum in London was founded in 1795, and it now contains nearly 400 children. In Paris there are three orphanages, one of which is maintained entirely by the Rothschild family, and in Vienna there are also three. In Germany there are over forty such institutions, mostly on a smaller scale, eleven of which are in Berlin alone, whilst in the United States there are 97 orphanages and child-caring organizations, maintained at an annual cost of 3½ million dollars. Apart from these asylums orphan children are in many cases boarded with private families at the expense of the community. Jewish hospitals exist likewise in all the leading centres, both in the East and the West, in which the dietary laws are observed and the patients are able to conform with the practices of their religion. They are found in Paris and Amsterdam, in Berlin and Vienna, in Tunis and Constantinople, in New York and Jerusalem. In England there are 3 (London, Manchester, and Leeds); in Germany there are over 30, Berlin and Frankfort having 3 each; in Russia (before the Great War) there were 112; and in the United States there are 62 maintained at an annual cost of 22 million dollars. Many of the hospitals have a dispensary service for out-patients, and to some of them is attached a training school for nurses. Like the orphan and the sick the aged needy, too, enjoy the sheltering care of the community, which does not permit them to drift into the alien atmosphere of a public workhouse but provides them with comfortable accommodation in a special home. Such homes or alms-houses, as they are sometimes called, have been established in England, France, Germany (where there are over 20), the United States (where there are 60), and other countries. And when the poor have been released at last from all their earthly sufferings they are laid to rest at the cost of the community.

Manifold and generous as is the charity dispensed by the Jews in Western countries for the relief of their distressed

<sup>1</sup> It has been calculated that the Jews in the United States contributed in 1928 a total sum of 235,735,855 dollars for charitable purposes at home and abroad. (*Bnai Brith Magazine*, April, 1929.)

brethren at home, it forms but a part of their benevolent activity, which is equally extended to their oppressed brethren in the East. Indeed, one of the most distinguishing features of modern Jewish philanthropy is the solicitude and munificence devoted by the Jews of the West to the aid of their harried co-religionists in the East. Persecution and economic distress in Eastern Europe, outlawry in Persia and Morocco, fire and plague in Turkey, these and a succession of other evils make one half of the Jewish people a permanent charge upon the other. To cope with this vast amount of suffering there are elaborate and efficient organizations in Western Europe and America, each of which has a definite sphere of labour, whilst all act in co-operation in periods of exceptional crisis. Before the Great War the principal organizations were the "Alliance Israélite" of Paris, the Anglo-Jewish Association of London, the "Hilfsverein" of Berlin, and the Jewish Colonization Association, all of which devoted considerable attention to the furtherance of primary education, so that the children of the East might be better equipped than their fathers for the battle of life. They provided the communities of the Orient and of Eastern Europe not only with a comprehensive network of elementary schools, but also with an array of technical schools, particularly in Russia, Poland, and Rumania, at which a good training was given in some useful trade. The Jewish Colonization Association, however, devoted the greater part of its capital of £10,000,000 to the work of social and economic amelioration by supporting the Jewish agricultural colonies in Russia, assisting the mutual loan banks in Russia and Galicia, and, above all, by establishing agricultural colonies in the Argentine, Brazil, and Canada with the fugitives from Russian barbarity. The activity of all these philanthropic agencies has been continued to the present day,<sup>1</sup> but it has been supplemented very substantially by the co-operation of American Jewry, which, thanks to its wealth, numbers, and Jewish consciousness, has assumed a commanding position in the great field of philanthropic endeavour. During the Great War the Jews of America, through the medium of their Joint Distribution Committee,<sup>2</sup> raised the stupendous sum of 60 million dollars for purposes of relief and reconstruction among all the afflicted Jewish communities in the Old World—an achievement that

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish Colonization Association at present supports 40 colonies, 22 technical schools, and 110 loan-banks in Russia; 19 technical schools in Poland; 33 loan-banks in Bessarabia.

<sup>2</sup> Composed of Jewish Relief Committee, Central Relief Committee, and People's Relief Committee.

is unique in the annals of national and voluntary self-help. And this same Joint Distribution Committee, after a temporary dissolution induced by the thought that the economic troubles of East European Jewry were over, has undertaken the collection of a further sum of 25 million dollars, partly for the promotion of Jewish agricultural settlement in Southern Russia and partly for the aid of Polish Jewry.

There are two other organizations that take an active part in the economic reconstruction of East European Jewry: the one is called "Ort," from the initials of its Russian name, *Obshchestvo Rasprostraneniye Truda*, which means "Society for the promotion of trades and agriculture," and the other "Oze," from *Obshchestvo Zdorovje Evreev*, which means "Society for the promotion of health among Jews." The "Ort" devotes itself to the furtherance of vocational training and agricultural development, to the supply of Jewish artisans with tools and machines on easy terms, and to the support of producers' co-operative societies. It carries on its activity mainly in Russia (where it began its agricultural work in 1921), Poland, Lithuania, and Rumania, and maintains 73 technical schools and 120 workshops.<sup>1</sup> The "Oze" conducts an extensive activity for the preservation of health among the Jews in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Rumania. It supports hospitals, medical consultation centres, dispensaries, dental stations, and homes for young children, and devotes special attention to the hygienic welfare of school children.

Between the relief of distress in the Old World and the settlement of its victims in the New lies the great problem of migration, whose solution demands the unflagging and concerted activity of several organizations. The exodus of the Jews from Eastern Europe to various lands across the seas passes mostly through Germany, where, since 1904, a Central Bureau for the affairs of Jewish emigration has been maintained in Berlin by the "Hilfsverein." This Bureau is assisted by a dozen committees at the principal frontier-stations, harbours, and railway junctions; it procures reduced fares from the shipping companies and passport visas and other facilities from Government authorities; and it provides the emigrants on the way with food, clothing, shelter, medical aid, and information and help of every kind. Considerable activity of a like character is also carried on by the Jewish Colonization Association (commonly called "Ica"), largely through the medium of local offices in

<sup>1</sup> The Central Administration of the "Ort," at its meeting in June, 1928, adopted a budget of 400,000 dollars for the ensuing year.

different parts of Eastern Europe; by the United Jewish Emigration Committee (commonly known as "Emigdirect"), a body composed of representatives of emigration committees in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania, and Dantzic; and by special committees in Antwerp and Rotterdam, in Basle, Copenhagen, and London. In the United States, as well as in the other countries of North America, and likewise in those of South America, to which the tide of migration is directed, there are corresponding bodies devoted to the facilitation of admission, one of the most prominent among them being the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America (commonly known as "Hias").<sup>1</sup> Nor does help for the immigrant cease upon his reaching—and passing—the haven of his desire, for besides a host of charities in every city there is in New York, and also in Montreal, a wealthy foundation endowed by the late Baron de Hirsch, which befriends him by providing free instruction in English, by teaching him a trade and supporting him during his training, by transporting him to his relatives or to a place where his prospects of employment are better, or by advancing him a loan to settle on a farm.

Apart from the flow of migration to the West, there is an equally notable and even more significant flow to the East, to Palestine, which is regulated by a number of offices of the Zionist Organization, situated in all countries with a large Jewish population; but this work, so far from belonging to the domain of philanthropy, is merely a stage in the great enterprise of national resettlement.

<sup>1</sup> The "Hias," "Ica," and "Emigdirect," in 1928, formed a new joint body, "Hicem," for the purpose of co-ordinating their emigration activities. Its office is in Paris.

## CHAPTER VI

### MORALITY

The morality of the family—Jewish wrongdoing exaggerated—Protective and preventive measures—The rate of criminality in Jewry lower than among the general population—Jewish criminality determined by economic conditions—Ratio of criminality corresponds to relative ratio of Jews in affected trade—Comparative rarity of crimes of violence.

THE importance of right living is insisted upon with singular emphasis throughout the literature of the Jewish people. Purity both in private and public life is the keynote of the laws and statutes of the Pentateuch and of the glowing exhortations of Prophets and Psalmists; it forms the recurring refrain in the monumental tomes of the Talmud and the dominant theme in all the legal codes and ethical works of the Middle Ages. The contents of the Decalogue afford supreme testimony to the moral sense of ancient Israel: the ranging of perjury and covetousness along with the grosser crimes of murder and theft bespeaks a deep insight into human nature and a high standard of social conduct. The moral consciousness of ancient Israel has been transmitted unimpaired to modern Jewry, rendered more sensitive, if anything, by the experience of centuries of wrongs at the hands of the nations. It finds its simplest and readiest expression in the family circle, in the relations between husband and wife, between parents and children. The moral purity of the home has been a characteristic of Jewish life from time immemorial: marital infidelity is comparatively unknown in Eastern Europe, and is much less frequent among Jews than among non-Jews in the Western world. Similarly, the harmony of filial relations and the support of aged parents by children obtain in much greater degree in Jewish than in non-Jewish families. The divergency in these respects that has manifested itself in recent years is mainly due to the fugitive wanderings which Jews are compelled to make to foreign lands. The husband who leaves his wife in Russia or Poland with the object of founding a better home in America occasionally succumbs to the charms of another woman in his new surroundings and abandons his

lawful spouse to her fate ; but on the whole such cases of desertion have been few in relation to the volume of migration that has surged across the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup> And the lessened respect shown by the children of immigrants in America for their foreign-born parents is the result of the modern education that is suddenly thrust upon them and which induces a feeling of contempt—as heartless as it is unjustifiable—for the uncouth ways and speech of their elders. But despite these blemishes the morality of the Jewish family, in the West as well as in the East, compares very favourably in regard to chastity, sobriety, and general temperance with the ethical standard of its environment.

Imbued from childhood with sound moral doctrines the Jew is, nevertheless, but human—and it is human to err. The frailties of the individual, however, are often exaggerated by prejudiced critics, who visit the sins of the few upon the nation at large and thus attempt to prove the inferior morality of Jewry. The appearance of a Jew in a police-court attracts more than ordinary attention because of his difference of type and the occasional necessity of an interpreter ; the sensation-loving press seizes upon each case and blazons it forth with shrieking headlines ; and hence arises occasionally the impression of enormous iniquity on the part of the Jew. But the very prominence given to Jewish cases of wrongdoing only serves to emphasize their comparative infrequency. The magistrates at British and American courts, when having to pass judgment upon a Jewish offender, have often borne public testimony to the law-abiding character of the Jew, and it is no rare practice for them to refer cases in which both parties are Jews to the local Rabbi for peaceful settlement. The Rabbis, either individually or through the local *Beth Din* (Ecclesiastical Court), exert every effort to prevent Jewish litigants from airing their complaints in the public courts when these relate merely to civil matters, and their arbitration is very often accepted.<sup>2</sup> They are animated in these endeavours by their jealousy for the repute of their community and by the desire to prevent a “ profanation of the Name ”—an expression commonly applied to a scandal which casts a shadow upon the fair fame of the Jewish people. The innate sobriety of the Jew, however, combined with his industry and family devotion, shields him from vices

<sup>1</sup> A delegation of Rabbis from Poland who visited New York in 1926 stated that there were 5000 Jewish women in Poland who had been abandoned by husbands settled in America.

<sup>2</sup> The London *Beth Din* in 1928–29 held 233 hearings of civil disputes.

that afflict his Christian neighbour: drunkenness is a very rare phenomenon in Jewish districts, and its natural products, wife-beating, street-brawling, and acts of personal violence, are equally rare. No more convincing illustration of the superior conduct of the Jewish poor could be advanced than the transformation that took place at the end of last century in certain streets in the East of London, which, once the dangerous haunt of native thieves and murderers and the scene of daily brawls, became, through their occupation by law-abiding Jewish immigrants, quiet and orderly thoroughfares that can well dispense with the supervision of the police.<sup>1</sup>

The modern Ghetto is, as a rule, the most peaceful quarter in a Western town, and the Jewish authorities are always on the alert to stamp out any evil in its midst. Systematic measures are adopted in particular to suppress the white slave traffic in every country afflicted by the pest, and effective co-operation was rendered by the London Board of Deputies in securing the adoption of a law for the prompter arrest and severer punishment of those who batten on this traffic.<sup>2</sup> The dangers to which women and girls travelling alone from Eastern Europe to England, America, or some other land of refuge, are peculiarly exposed, have called into existence a special Association in England, which combines with similar bodies on the Continent and in America to protect these unsuspecting travellers from the snares and pitfalls around them. In London, New York, and other large centres there are homes where they are lodged and looked after until they can be handed over to their friends, or where those who have already been led astray can be reclaimed to the path of virtue. Cognate with this activity are the efforts made for the reformation of delinquents, young and old. The communal authorities endeavour to protect poor boys from the vicious influences of street life to which they may be exposed, by apprenticing them to a trade after they leave school, and by providing clubs which will shield them from the temptations of card-gambling and horse-betting rampant around them. But despite these preventive measures, or because they are not comprehensive enough, some boys fall into evil ways and call for redemption. In England they are placed in the Jewish Industrial School at Hayes (Middlesex),

<sup>1</sup> See *The Jew in London*, by C. Russell and H. S. Lewis, p. 176, and *Minutes of Evidence and Report of Royal Commission on Alien Immigration* (1903).

<sup>2</sup> The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912, which facilitates the apprehension of the procurer and authorizes the infliction of a flogging upon conviction.

at which they are taught useful trades by which they can afterwards earn a living. There is a similar institution in New York, known as a Protectors, and wayward children in that and other cities in America are also committed to the care of probationary or "parole" officers. Delinquents of an older age are visited in prison by the local Rabbi, who tries to win them back to the path of honest industry, and they are helped after their release to obtain employment or to reach relatives or friends in another country by special societies in London,<sup>1</sup> New York, and other large cities.

The Jews have always laid claim to possessing a record as law-abiding citizens, and their claim is proved by all the statistics available. In Russia, which, before the Great War, contained nearly half of the Jews in the world, only 4277 Jews were convicted in 1907, forming only 2.97 per cent of the total number of persons convicted in the country in that year,<sup>2</sup> whilst the Jews then formed about 4 per cent of the total population. This favourable condition was all the more remarkable in view of the host of exceptional laws in force against them, and the barbarous severity with which they were applied. Still more instructive is the record of the Jews in other countries based upon a larger series of years. In Austria in the period 1880-1902, the Jews had a criminality of 100 among 100,000 Jews as compared with 122 for the Christian population.<sup>3</sup> In Hungary, in the period 1906-9, there were 1106.8 convictions among 100,000 Jews against 1679 among 100,000 Christians, the Jews providing only 3.36 per cent of the total convictions although forming 5.02 per cent of the population<sup>4</sup>; whilst in 1921 and 1922 the Jews furnished only 3.1 and 3.4 per cent respectively of the total convictions, although forming 5.9 per cent of the population.<sup>5</sup> In Germany the annual proportion of Jewish convictions in the years 1903-1906 was 830.2 per 100,000, as compared with 854.1 per 100,000 of the Christian population,<sup>6</sup> whilst in Prussia, in 1910, there were only 1128 convictions among 100,000 Jews above the age of 12 as compared with 1214 among 100,000 Christians of the same punishable age.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> The United Synagogue Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society assisted 318 discharged prisoners in the year 1928-29. The Society's superintendent keeps in close touch with the probation officers of London police-courts.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, "Zur Krimin. alität der Juden in Russland," pp. 127-131.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. J. Thon, *Die Juden in Österreich* (1908), p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Demographie*, No. 4, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> *American Jewish Year Book*, 1927-28, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Demographie*, 1909, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 87.



in Germany, in 1915, the proportions were 691 for the Jews and 628 for Christians, whilst in 1916 they were 589 and 503 respectively, a disproportion entirely due to the higher rate of convictions among the Jews for infractions of the Sunday closing laws and of traffic by-laws.<sup>1</sup> In Holland the proportion of convictions in 1898-1902 was 182.7 per 100,000 Jews as against 297.8 per 100,000 Christians.<sup>2</sup> The statistics published in the United States show similar conditions: thus in 1925, of 4427 prisoners in the prisons of the State of New York there were only 470 Jews, that is 10.6 per cent, whereas the Jews form 16.67 of the population.<sup>3</sup>

The low record of Jewish convictions is all the more notable as the Jews are pre-eminently an urban people, among whom crime is generally more rife than among a population distributed over rural as well as urban districts. Moreover, in examining the nature of their criminality we must bear in mind the conditions of their environment, the character of their occupations, and their general intellectual status. The statistical investigations made in the principal countries on the Continent, Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Germany, have shown that Jewish crime is practised far more against property than against persons, that it more often takes the form of fraud than of violence or brutality. These investigations only bear out what one would naturally expect of a highly intellectual people, namely, that they should sin more with their brains than with their hands.<sup>4</sup> The wrongdoing of the Jew is usually characteristic of his particular occupation and must be considered in connexion with the general liability of those engaged in that occupation to transgress the laws affecting it. The majority of Jewish offences are committed in the exercise of the various branches of trade and commerce as a result of their undue preponderance in these occupations. Thus, in Russia, although the Jews (before the Great War) formed only 4 per cent of the total population they contributed 27.12 per cent to the convictions for trade and commercial trespasses (in 1907). But 38.65 per cent of the Jews were engaged in trade as compared with only 3.77 of the rest of the population, that is, Jews were proportionately 10 times more numerous

<sup>1</sup> *Blätter für Demographie, d. Juden*, 1923, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie*, No. 2, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> *American Jewish Year Book*, 1927-28, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> During the period of 1902-24 the percentage of Jews in Vienna sentenced for any kind of crime was always less than their ratio of the total population, whilst the percentage of Jews convicted of misdemeanours was higher than that ratio. (L. Goldhammer, *Die Juden Wiens*, pp. 44-45.)

represented in trade than non-Jews. Hence, if Jewish merchants had sinned to the same degree as their Russian colleagues their percentage of the trade offences would have been 40 instead of 27·12.<sup>1</sup> In all the other categories of offences in which the Jewish percentage exceeded the Jewish ratio of the population in Russia this percentage was even less than half of the normal 40, which provides a convincing testimony to the honesty of the Jewish business-man in Russia. The Jewish trespasses against Government and local ordinances amounted to 17·10 per cent and were the result mainly of administrative decrees relating to the restriction of the rights of domicile and school attendance, which were issued in far greater number against the Jews than against any other section of the population, and which inevitably provoked revolt. Similarly the Jews accounted for 12·42 per cent of the convictions for infringing the laws regarding public security: most of these laws related to the prevention of pogroms, the incitement to which could certainly not be favoured by Jews, but they also included severe and capricious press by-laws, the infraction of which inevitably followed from the struggle for liberty. The attitude of hostility forced upon the Jews also accounted for their providing 10·6 per cent of those condemned for State crimes. On the other hand, the Jews showed a percentage below their ratio to the general population in every kind of theft and robbery (2·41) and burglary (1·48), whilst their record as regards personal assault (1·12) and murder (1·11) was even lower still.

The general features of Jewish criminality as manifested in pre-War Russia are paralleled by the conditions in Western Europe and America, except, of course, that crimes against the State are not by any means as prominent. Dr. Ruppin has set forth in tabular form the crimes in which Jews are proportionately represented in a higher degree than Christians and also those in which Christians are represented in a higher degree, upon the basis of the statistical reports of Germany (1903-6), Austria (1898-1902), Hungary (1904), and Holland (1902).<sup>2</sup> An examination of this table shows that the penal offences of which the Jews are convicted in a higher

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912. It is instructive to note that the total convictions of Jews in Germany in 1903-6 would be reduced from 830·2 to 608·2 per 100,000 Jews if we eliminated all trade offences, whilst a similar elimination in the case of Christian convictions would only reduce them from 854·1 to 802·8 per 100,000 Christians. (*Ibid.*, 1909, p. 52.)

<sup>2</sup> *Die Juden der Gegenwart* (2nd edition, 1911), p. 223.

degree are those of usury, fraudulent bankruptcy, fraud, disseminating immoral publications, blackmail, evasion of conscription, frustrating legal executions, forgery, libel, and duelling. On the other hand, the penal offences of which Christians are convicted in a higher degree are defiance of State authority, theft, robbery, burglary, injury to property, arson, injury to persons, and murder (including homicide through negligence and abortion). It will be seen that most of the categories in which the Jews are more liable to transgress are connected with commercial occupations in which they are proportionately more numerous engaged than their Christian fellow-citizens. Thus, in Germany, in 1909-10, the ratio of convictions for fraudulent bankruptcy was  $\cdot 5$  per 100,000 among Jews and  $\cdot 1$  among Christians, and in 1915 it was  $\cdot 3$  and  $\cdot 04$  respectively; but whilst over 55 per cent of the Jews in Germany are engaged in various forms of business, only 13.4 per cent of the general population are devoted to such pursuits, and hence the higher ratio of fraudulent bankruptcies among Jews fairly corresponds to the higher ratio of Jews in commerce.<sup>1</sup> In Austria the ratio of Jews convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy in 1880-1902 was eight times the ratio among Christians; but the ratio of Jews engaged in business in that country was twelve times the ratio of Christians.<sup>2</sup> The degree of delinquency on the part of Jews can only be properly estimated by a comparison of the ratio they provide in different occupations with their ratio of corresponding trade offences, and these two ratios fairly equalize one another.<sup>3</sup> There are, moreover, special circumstances to account for the higher degree of delinquency among Jews in regard to certain offences. Thus, the proportion of Jews in Germany convicted in 1903-6 of infringing the Sunday closing laws was 129.4 per 100,000 as compared with only 17 among the Christian population,<sup>4</sup> the corresponding figures for the year 1916 being 33.8 for the Jewish and 5.1 for the Christian population. This is obviously due to the inability of the Jew who strictly observes the Sabbath from sunset on Friday until Saturday night to sacrifice the Sunday also by keeping his shop or warehouse closed. It is probable that the ratio of convictions for this offence is somewhat similar among the Jews in England and America, but no statistical record is

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. Segall, *Die beruflichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> J. Thon, *Die Juden in Österreich*, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik*, 1909, p. 51.

available. But of a cognate character are the frequent convictions for infringing some local traffic by-law, to which the numerous Jewish hawkers and pedlars in London and New York are liable, owing partly to their ignorance of the law and partly to the assiduity with which they pursue their vocation. It is also of interest to note that the convictions for the evasion of military service in Germany in 1909-10 amounted to 25.3 per 100,000 among Jews as against 9.9 among Christians,<sup>1</sup> whilst the corresponding figures in 1916 were 4.5 and 1.9<sup>2</sup>—a disproportion due to the greater tendency of Jews to emigrate as well as to their utter lack of prospects in the German army. Moreover, Jews were punished in 1909-10 four and a half times as often as their neighbours in Germany for duelling (the proportion being .9 as against .2 per 100,000), doubtless owing to the inordinately large proportion of Jews among university students, who regard the duel as the only honourable method of settling disputes, though in 1915 there were 8 Christians but not a single Jew convicted for this offence.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, as we have seen in the case of Russia, crimes involving violence, whether against property or the person, such as robbery, assault, manslaughter, and murder, are much rarer among Jews than among Christians. In Germany (1915) arson was committed twice as often by Christians as by Jews, theft three times as often, robbery four times as often, injurious assault and murder two and a half times as often.<sup>4</sup> In Hungary (1906-9) arson was committed half as often again by Christians as by Jews, theft and robbery were committed twice as often, injurious assault nearly six times, and murder seven times as often.<sup>5</sup> In Austria (1880-1902) arson was committed more than twice as often by Christians as by Jews, robbery nearly thrice as often, injurious assault more than thrice, and murder more than twice as often.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the Jews in Amsterdam (1901-4) showed a slightly higher ratio of convictions for violent assault, 18.7 per cent of all Jewish convictions being due to this offence as compared with 15.2 among the general population.<sup>7</sup> The superior frequency of crimes of violence among the Jews in Amsterdam as compared with their brethren in other parts is doubtless due to their being largely employed as artisans in

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik*, 1913, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Blätter f. Demog. d. Juden*, 1923, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Demographie u. Statistik*, 1911, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> J. Thon, *Die Juden in Österreich*, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Demographie und Statistik*, 1907, p. 190.

the diamond industry, the predisposition to settle quarrels by a resort to fisticuffs naturally obtaining more strongly among the working classes than among a predominantly commercial population such as the Jews in Germany.

On the whole, therefore, we see that the delinquency of the Jews consists mainly of breaches of the laws and regulations governing the business pursuits in which they are engaged, and generally corresponds to the ratio by which they are represented in them. It springs, for the most part, from the nature of their economic situation, and is eminently free from the vice and brutality that account for the grossest crimes in the world of human iniquity.

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## CHAPTER VII

### SOCIAL LIFE

Domestic diversion—Family festivities and indoor games—Social clubs, literary societies, and public functions—Fraternal orders and benefit societies—Students' unions—Athletic sports—Theatres—Cafés—Summer resorts.

HAVING surveyed the Social Aspect of Modern Jewry from every main angle of vision, we now come to a review of social life in its more conventional and intimate sense, to a description of the forms and fashions in which Jewry spends its leisure and seeks recreation and amusement—its domestic diversions and festivities ; its games and pastimes ; its clubs, institutes, and public functions ; its fraternal orders, students' unions, and athletic associations ; and last but not least, the frequenting of theatres and the flocking to summer resorts.

The typical Jew of the modern as of the mediæval Ghetto finds his most congenial recreation in the study of the Talmud. When the toil of the day is over and the evening repast is finished and grace has been devoutly said, he takes down from his shelf of Hebrew literature a heavy leather-bound tome of the Talmud, frayed at the edges from years of use, and in the glow of the lamp he cons a page from some treatise on festival services in the Temple or on ethical virtues, reading the text aloud in a quaint traditional sing-song and accompanying the solemn argument with nods of the head and downward scoops of the outstretched thumb, all heedless of the world without and its crowd of fleeting pleasures. Wrapped in the lore of his ancestors he moves in a sphere of ethereal bliss, whilst at his side, meek and devoted, sits his wife diligently plying a needle or perchance bending likewise over a Yiddish version of the Pentateuch, full of legends, parables, and pious reflections. She listens lovingly to the voice of her husband, vainly striving ever and anon to follow the sacred mysteries, but venturing not to interrupt the trend of thought or flow of argument. Yet if a neighbour looks in they both readily break off their diversion and give him a cordial welcome, eagerly entering into a dis-

cussion of domestic or communal affairs—the last letter from a son in some distant land, a rumoured engagement, or the forthcoming appointment of a new Rabbi—which occasionally wanders into the more turbulent region of *Weltpolitik*. The lady bestirs herself to offer the guest a glass of tea with lemon, or if the cause of his visit be of joyous moment she places a bottle of wine or whisky with glasses upon the table, and a dish of home-made beetroot-jam, dispensing a kindly hospitality which stimulates the ripple of gossip. She is always “at home,” unlike her rich sister in the more fashionable part of the city, who receives only on fixed days and who gives occasional dinner-parties, card-parties, or garden-parties, and otherwise faithfully observes the latest conventions of modern society.

The placid hours of domestic life in the Ghetto are sufficiently varied by festivals and fasts, with their exacting requirements of dietary and house-cleaning, to banish all thought or desire for outside pleasures, whilst a series of family celebrations—circumcision, redemption of the first-born, *Bar-Mitzvah*, betrothals, and weddings—supply all the rejoicing that is wished for in these modest circles. It is at the weddings of their children or of their relatives or friends that the pious old folks hear, as a rule, the only music and see the only dancing that enliven the even tenor of their days; and the Jewish folk-melodies—wistfully recalling half-forgotten scenes of long ago in their native townlet in Russia or Galicia, the measured dances (innocent of the degenerations of an immodest age), and the learned or witty speeches at the long and many-coursed dinner, leave a happy impression that remains for months. A daughter in the home generally involves the acquisition of a piano, for she will not be outshone by her friends in social accomplishments, and although the father, with his serious view of life, may seem reluctant to introduce the instrument, the indulgent mother, with an eye to a desirable match, encourages the girl's ambition and secures its gratification. Only upon one occasion in the year are the sounds of unusual revelry heard beneath the family roof, namely, upon the feast of Purim, when everybody must make so merry and drink so freely that he “cannot distinguish between Haman and Mordecai,” and when a group of masked minstrels (*Badchanim*) go from house to house to sing jovial songs to the strains of a rickety violin or to perform a short comic play. But these minstrels, though still surviving in Eastern communities, are met with more and more rarely in the Western world, where theatre and music-hall develop a too critical taste. Similarly,

a traditional feature of Chanukah, the game of *trendel*, a teetotum with Hebrew letters on its four faces, which is played on this festival in Eastern Europe, has failed to maintain itself in the West, though games with nuts may still be seen played by children in the Passover week in the streets of the modern Ghettos. No pastime of former days, however, can be compared with the fascinating attractions of chess or the tempting allurements of cards. The indulgence in cards, often played for high stakes, is found among all classes, but is pursued here and there to pernicious excess, leading to occasional reproof from the Rabbi in his Sabbath sermon. But chess enjoys a deep-rooted and widespread affection in intellectual circles, dating from mediæval times, and is even allowed on the Sabbath, whilst the abnormally high proportion of champions contributed by modern Jews affords the best testimony of the skill they have achieved in the game.

The social life of the community in the mass takes on a host of varied forms, reflecting the ideals, interests, and pleasures of different classes. A cluster of clubs and societies attract different elements, offering a varied programme of entertainment and instruction, much of which is concentrated upon the Saturday and Sunday nights of the winter months, alternating with rambles and picnics in the summer. In the large centres there are not only clubs for working-men, often with a membership of over a thousand, and likewise for boys, in the management of which the leisured class take an active part, but also clubs for girls, who are taught both useful and ornamental accomplishments and give occasional entertainments for the edification of their parents and friends. The clubs in English-speaking countries are furnished with all the means of recreation—billiard-tables, chess, draughts, and dominoes, and with a reading-room and library for those more studiously inclined; lectures and debates are held upon Jewish and general topics; concerts and theatrical performances afford budding talents an opportunity of display, and the indispensable balls and soirées provoke cordial relations between members and their lady friends. The "social and literary societies," having no permanent premises of their own like the clubs, meet in synagogue council-chambers, hotels, concert-halls, or even in private houses; they generally have more important debates and a superior list of lectures, some of which are delivered by speakers from other cities or other countries, whose visits, if they be well-known personages, occasion the delivery of a weighty message, perchance of a propagandist nature, and often



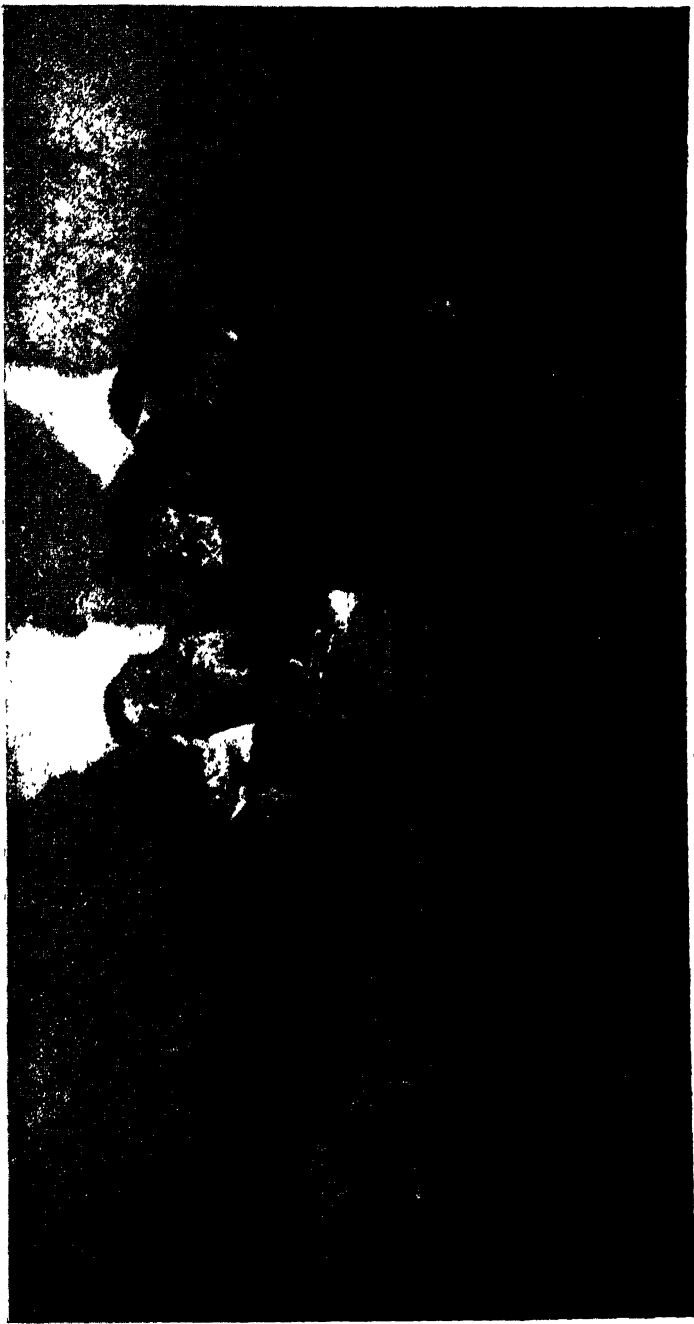
attract an overflowing audience. Such visits have in recent years become of increasing occurrence. They are exchanged between the Jewries of England and America, and also between them and those of the Continent, serving to foster a mutual understanding and to fortify the sentiment of solidarity. Moreover, delegates of important Jewish organizations now visit the most distant communities—in South Africa, South America, Australasia, and the Far East. In many large cities, in America as well as in Europe, the social and intellectual life of the working-class revolves round an institute modelled on Toynbee Hall: in Berlin and Vienna, in Lemberg and Cracow, it is actually called the Jewish Toynbee Hall, in London it is the Jewish Institute, in Paris the Jewish Popular University, in New York the Hebrew Educational Alliance. These institutions comprise a library and reading-room in which books and newspapers of Jewish interest form the main feature. Free popular lectures and concerts are held, whilst sometimes courses are given in the language of the country for immigrants. Public dinners are held now and again to promote some worthy cause or to celebrate some important event, bringing together a large circle of interested persons in convivial assembly, who listen to the speeches with sympathy tempered by an irrepressible urge to criticize; or the institution or movement to be furthered may be aided by a bazaar, to which titled magnates of the community, and just as readily the mayor of the city himself, lend their patronage, and in which the wives of prominent members, with their marriageable daughters, vie with one another in their active participation. Gifts in kind are there received not only from shopkeepers great and small, but also from a score of "Dorcas" and needlework guilds, which meet alternately in the homes of members to sew useful undergarments and discuss the latest gossip over tea. Once a year the children of the communal schools and classes assemble in their best attire for the prize distribution, when they go through a programme of songs, recitations, and musical drill to the delight of their admiring parents, and the chairman delivers himself of his views upon current educational problems. And remote from all the motley hubbub of the Ghetto, broken ever and anon by the strident bells of a cyclists' corps out for a Sunday run, or the martial band of a lads' brigade swinging along with spirited step, the faithful followers of the Talmud, parents and greybeards, seated in the quiet seclusion of a humble synagogue, pursue their pious study under the guidance of a hoary Rabbi and celebrate the completion (*Siyum*) of

a treatise with a humble feast in the self-same scene, where mundane discourse freely commingles with spiritual themes.

Jewish life since the latter part of the nineteenth century is also distinguished by three other forms of organization for social purposes: the fraternal order or friendly society, the university students' union, and the athletic association. The fraternal orders, whose origin is traced to the *Chevra Kadisha* (Holy Society) or burial society mentioned in the Talmud,<sup>1</sup> are particularly numerous, far exceeding the clubs and literary societies: they abound in thousands in all parts of the world, and flourish especially in English-speaking countries. The oldest, most important, and most widely ramified of these organizations is the Independent Order Bnai Brith (Sons of the Covenant), which was founded in 1843 in New York by a number of German Jews under the lead of Henry Jones, and which now comprises over 500 lodges with a membership of 85,000, drawn from the middle and upper classes and scattered over the United States, England, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Switzerland, Rumania, Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine. Founded to inculcate the principles of charity, benevolence, and brotherly love, and barring from its meetings all political and religious controversy, the Bnai Brith Order has not only strengthened the bonds of solidarity between the dispersed communities of Israel, but has also accomplished a great amount of social and philanthropic work: it has established hospitals, orphan asylums, schools, and libraries in the United States, and rendered valuable relief to the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe. Most of the lodges have premises of their own, some of them exceedingly commodious and sumptuous, which not only serve as a social rendezvous, but constitute a fertile source of humanitarian effort. But among the larger class less favoured by fortune the fraternal order enjoys an even greater popularity, for, apart from its social attractions, it provides cheap insurance against sickness or unemployment as well as sundry money benefits, and is often simply called a benefit society. Orders of this kind have sprung up in great abundance in Great Britain<sup>2</sup> and America during the last forty years and are still on the increase from year to year, drawing their membership almost exclusively from the ranks of the immigrants from Eastern Europe and owing their multiplicity to the love of the Jews of this region for society-formation and

<sup>1</sup> *Mo'ed Katon*, 27b.

<sup>2</sup> Twelve pages in the *Jewish Year Book* for 1929 are devoted to an enumeration of these societies in London. There are also many in the provinces.



IN A TALMUDICAL COLLEGE  
*From the Painting by Samuel Hirszenberg*



to local patriotism. Several of these orders in America have over seventy lodges each, and a number of them have combined to create a national Jewish Fraternal Congress. The largest organization in England, the Grand Order of Israel, has 62 lodges, eight of them situated in South Africa and Canada. Besides the large orders, some of which bear a purely Jewish name, whilst others are designated "Hebrew Order of Druids" or "Oddfellows," there is a host of unattached friendly societies, many of which are called after the native town of the original members.

The students' unions at universities are of somewhat later development, for it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the Jewish students at any of the principal seats of learning were numerous enough to form a society of their own. The first organization was founded in 1882 in Vienna by Jewish students from Russia, Rumania, and Galicia, who entitled their society *Kadimah*, which means both "Eastward" and "Forward," as an indication of the ideal of a resettlement in Palestine which they advocated. Since then, partly as a result of the advance of Zionism and partly as a result of the anti-Semitic attitude of the general students' corps on the Continent, separate societies have been formed by the Jewish students at almost every university at which they number at least a dozen, and are now found in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland, France, Holland, and even Estonia. Some of these societies owe their existence simply to the exclusion of Jews from the general corporation, and they adopt a passive attitude on Jewish questions, but the majority are animated by the ideal of Jewish nationalism and actively foster the Zionist cause. The Jewish nationalist societies in Germany have been organized since 1914 as the "Kartell Juedischer Verbindungen," which comprises 1400 members. The Zionist students' societies in Holland were federated in 1908, but those in other Continental countries pursue an unattached existence. Established to assert and promote the principle of Jewish nationalism, these corporations have nevertheless adopted all the methods and conventions of German corporations: they each have their distinctive colours, and they hold "beer evenings" at which the students sing spirited songs in swelling chorus around tables which they bang with their beer-mugs, presided over by officers who are accoutred in gorgeous uniform and armed with a sword that does duty alternately as chairman's hammer and conductor's baton. But their songs tell not of Teuton valour

but of Jewish hope, breathing the spirit of a rejuvenated people. Besides these convivial gatherings the members cultivate the study of Jewish history, literature, and modern problems, and also practise fencing so as to be prepared for any duel in which they might be involved in vindication of the Jewish name. The Jewish societies at the universities in English-speaking countries are not, like the Continental corps, the inevitable product of an unfriendly environment, but voluntary associations for the study of Jewish questions and social intercourse. The Jewish students in England, and to a less extent in the United States, join the societies of their university. But their racial sympathies prompt them also to form their own organizations, and thus the Adler Society of Oxford and the Schechter Society of Cambridge have been followed by Jewish students' societies in London and at provincial universities, which have created an Inter-University Federation. Moreover, in the United States there is the intercollegiate Menorah Association, for "the promotion in colleges and universities of the study of Jewish history, culture, and problems, and the advancement of Jewish ideals," comprising 73 societies and 5000 members.

A more remarkable development than either the fraternal orders or students' societies are the Jewish athletic and gymnastic societies that have sprung up during the last thirty years. The love of sport, a conception utterly foreign to the Jew of former times, has been fostered in the modern generation in its school days and has led to the participation of Jews in all branches of athletics, in some of which they have achieved distinction. Jewish pugilists in England had already acquired a reputation over a hundred years ago, but they formed a somewhat abnormal phenomenon in the life of the time.<sup>1</sup> To-day the cultivation of sport has become an essential feature of Jewish life, and the "Ghetto bend" in Western countries can only be seen on the backs of immigrants. Cricket and football clubs now occupy a regular place in the list of communal organizations, and matches take place as a rule on Sunday, the sanctity of the Sabbath not permitting them on a Saturday. The large number of these clubs in London has led to the formation of a Jewish Athletic Association. The most famous of Jewish football clubs is "Hakoah" of Vienna, which has beaten the crack teams not only of the Continent but also of England and America, and which has completely exploded the legend of the Jew's inferiority in the world of sport. The

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Mendoza, born 1763 in Whitechapel, was heavy-weight champion for England from 1792 to 1795.

importance of swimming was urged over sixteen centuries ago by a sage in the Talmud and is universally recognized in Jewry at the present day. No Jew has yet swum the English Channel, but Captain Webb, who was the first to perform the feat, had a Jewish trainer, Marquis Bibbero; and Jabez Wolffe more than once just missed the coveted distinction, whilst Annette Kellerman is equally celebrated for her swimming prowess and her perfect physique. On the Continent the love of sport has manifested itself most extensively in the cultivation of gymnastics. Stimulated by the new spirit of Zionism, which appreciated the value of *mens sana in corpore sano*, gymnastic societies were formed throughout Central and Eastern Europe, and later in Palestine, drawing their most enthusiastic adherents from the ranks of university students, and comprising women as well as men. These Zionist gymnastic societies are federated into the World Association "Maccabi," which comprises over 120,000 members and has its headquarters in Vienna. Rambling and rowing have also been taken up with ardour, and on the Spree, the Elbe, and the Danube may be seen competing crews with distinctive Jewish colours and badges. There is, indeed, hardly any branch of sport in which Jews do not now engage, whilst in some branches they have even distinguished themselves at the Olympic Games, Dr. Eugen Fuchs (of Hungary) having proved the victor in fencing in the Games of 1920, and Mr. Harold M. Abrahams in the 100-metre race (in 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  seconds) in those of 1924. Cognate with the enthusiasm for outdoor sports is the success that has attended the development of the Jewish Lads' Brigade in England, which, founded in 1895 by Colonel Albert Goldsmid, now comprises nearly 1000 members and holds a northern and southern camp every year. The Boy Scouts' movement has also found many followers among the younger generation both in Eastern and Western Jewry.

In the centre of Jewish affections stands the theatre, to the modern development of which Jewish genius—dramatic and histrionic—has contributed so much. Jews are most ardent theatre-goers in every country, attending *premières* with almost religious zeal, and managers are so dependent upon their patronage that they must reckon with their susceptibilities in deciding upon new productions. Saturday nights and the evenings after the close of festivals are generally spent in a theatre, in which the daughters of Israel are occasionally lavish in their display of jewels—or does not their darker and more pronounced type attract more attention to their personal

adornments than is bestowed upon the rest of the feminine audience? Frequent in their attendance at the playhouse the Jews have a fine critical faculty and often determine the fate of a play. They are passionate lovers of good music, prominent among the admirers of every star in the musical firmament; while they show particular generosity in facilitating the debut of every fresh genius among their people, which is peculiarly prolific of prodigies. The denizens of the Ghetto have theatres of their own, with their own dramas and operas in Yiddish, and their own local stars and favourites. In Warsaw and Wilna, in Lemberg and Bucharest, and in New York and Chicago, there are permanent Yiddish theatres—three in New York alone—at which the operas of Abraham Goldfaden and the dramas of Jacob Gordin, not to mention the works of lesser lights, are played before crowded audiences, who are as tempestuous in their disapproval as they are lavish in their applause. Most of the operas are based upon episodes of Jewish history, whilst the dramas, which deal mainly with problems of modern Jewish life, are frequently given a musical setting. But a great many Yiddish plays are simply adaptations of non-Jewish dramas, a weakness being shown for those of a sensational nature; and as the numerical limitations of the Ghetto public involve a frequent change of bill, which means a trying task for the actors' memory, the prompter's box is unfortunately a conspicuous feature of the stage.

An hour or two after the theatre, apart from the hours of the rest of the day, are spent in a café, of which the Jews, with their love of discussion, are among the most regular devotees. In all the large cities, from Amsterdam to Constantinople, Jews may be seen in animated conversation at particular coffee-houses, and, just like the rest of the population, different sections or parties within the Jewish community foregather in different cafés as in different camps, discussing the latest events of communal or political interest and fashioning their future policy. The same phenomenon is manifest in the Jewish quarter of New York, where the Zionists, the Socialists, and the satellites of various local authors, actors, poets, and pundits, each have their favourite resort for the leisure hours before midnight—and after.

Following in the footsteps of fashion the Jews flock every year, in ever-increasing numbers, to the world's leading watering-places, in quest of recuperation for body and mind. They are to be seen every summer in the well-known resorts of Central and Southern Europe, from Scheveningen to Lucerne and from



Wiesbaden to Abbazia, and they figure conspicuously among the seekers of sunshine on the Riviera every winter. The liability of Jews to various forms of dyspepsia and rheumatism causes them to repair in hosts to all the mineral wells to drink the waters, and Carlsbad and Marienbad in particular present the aspect of an annual reunion of the scattered sons of Israel. The promenades are filled with a kaleidoscopic crowd of Jewish types talking in a dozen tongues—well-fed merchants from England, savants with slashed cheeks from Germany and Austria, spruce Reform Rabbis in tourist dress from America, Orthodox Rabbis with flowing white beards and solemn mien from Poland, a Chassidic miracle-maker in silk gaberdine and fur hat from Galicia, stalwart black-bearded Jews from the Caucasus in conical astrakan hats, and olive-complexioned Jews from the Orient in fez and turban. Even the most exacting of the ultra-orthodox suffer no hardship in these resorts in respect of diet and lodging, for there are *kosher* boarding-houses and restaurants galore to accommodate them all, and the strict routine of the cure is relieved by divine service three times a day and Talmudic disputations at all hours. Drawn together from their dispersion by their bodily ills, the children of Israel discuss the malady of their people while seeking their own personal healing, and then return to their thousand tents.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### RACIAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Anthropological and physiological characteristics—The Jewish type predominantly brunette and brachycephalic—Historical evidence upon racial purity—Uniformity of Jewish type—Causes of physiological characteristics—Factors contributing to good health: dietary and hygienic laws—Temperance—Low rate of mortality in general and of infants in particular—Causes of low mortality—Liability to contagious diseases, bronchitis, heart disease, hemorrhoids, cancer—Liability to consumption, diseases of digestive organs, of the eye and skin—Morbidity of children—Nervous diseases—Suicides—Inferiority of birth-rate—Decline of marriage-rate—Decline of natural increase.

THE Jew has many distinguishing characteristics both of an anthropological and a physiological nature. Their origin is to be sought partly in the racial stock to which he belongs, partly in the endless vicissitudes through which he has passed, partly in the environment in which he has dwelt, and partly in the mode of life that he has followed. His anthropological characteristics are due to the racial factor, and they owe their preservation in approximately their original condition to the social isolation in which he has for the most part lived since the days of his dispersion. His physiological characteristics are due in greatest measure to the hygienic laws which he has observed as part of his religion, and likewise to the sufferings which his people have endured in their struggle for existence, and the effects of which, both beneficial and detrimental, he has inherited as a national legacy. The characteristics of both kinds will be found in their fullest extent among the Jews who live in compact settlements, particularly in Eastern Europe and in the Western communities composed of those who have themselves migrated from the East. The anthropological traits have a longer and stronger persistence than those of a purely physiological order: they are rooted in the blood and will even reassert themselves in the grandchildren of those who have married outside the Jewish pale and withdrawn from the Jewish community. The peculiarities of a physiological nature are dependent upon more governable factors, and they become weaker or disappear in proportion as the individual Jew abandons the habits and customs of

centuries and adopts the mode of life of his non-Jewish neighbours.

The distinctive features of the Jewish type consist of dark hair and eyes, and hence, owing to the preponderance of this feature, the Jews belong to the brunette group of the human race, or, more particularly, to the brunette group (Melanochroes) of the white race. The blond type, consisting of fair hair and blue eyes, and the mixed type, consisting of fair hair with dark eyes or dark hair with light eyes, are also found in small and varying proportions in different countries. The prevalence of this blond type has been explained by some anthropologists as the result of intermixture with the native populations, but this view is contradicted by the presence of fair-haired Jews in the North of Africa and in Syria, which are not inhabited by blond peoples, as well as by the presence of blond types among the Samaritan Jews who have scrupulously safeguarded their racial purity. The causes of these diverse types among Jews must not be sought in their kinship or supposed intermixture with alien races, but in the forces of nature that originally determined the genesis of these respective types among other groups of the human race. The differentiation of pigmentation, as Dr. Zollschan has shown,<sup>1</sup> is the effect of varied climatic and geographical conditions: it is a protective measure of nature against the injurious chemical and calorific effects of the fierce rays of the sun. The other main characteristic of the Jewish type is short-headedness (brachycephaly), the cephalic index of the majority of Jews being estimated by Dr. Judd as ranging from 80 to 83.6.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, many representatives of the long-headed or dolichocephalic type, as in Arabia, Morocco, and Algeria. This diversity of head-form is advanced by Dr. Fishberg<sup>3</sup> as his principal reason for disputing the racial purity of the Jews, as he maintains that changes in the form of the head can be produced only by racial intermixture. But Professor Franz Boas,<sup>4</sup> who has taken measurements of 30,000 immigrants and descendants in New York, has shown that the change of environment from Europe to America has a potent influence upon such racial traits as stature, head-form, and complexion: East European Jews with brachycephalic heads become long-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ignaz Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem* (Vienna, 3rd edition, 1912), p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Jüdische Statistik* (Berlin 1903), p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. M. Fishberg, *The Jews: a Study of Race and Environment* (London, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants* (Washington, 1910).

headed and also increase in stature and weight. A similar phenomenon may also be observed among the immigrants and their descendants in London. Moreover, Nyström<sup>1</sup> has shown that the shape of the skull can be differently influenced by the pose of the body, involved by one's daily occupation and mode of life, and that the increased pressure of brain and blood caused by intense intellectual activity tends to produce brachycephaly. Thus, changes of head-form afford no proof of racial intermixture. It had long been supposed that the hook-nose is also a salient—if not the most distinctive feature—of the Jewish type, but careful observation among the Jews of Russia and Galicia has shown that from 60 to 80 per cent possess straight or "Greek" noses. The Jewish hook-nose thrives only in the comic papers. That which constitutes the peculiarity of the Jewish nose is not its shape or profile, but, as Joseph Jacobs was the first to point out, "the accentuation and flexibility of the nostrils," a view with which Ripley agrees.<sup>2</sup>

The predominance of the brachycephalic type among the Jews has led to a revision of the traditional view as regards their Semitic origin, since the peoples of the so-called Semitic stock were dolichocephalic. Even Jewish writers who are in favour of Jewish nationalist aspirations, such as Dr. Zollschan and Dr. Judt, have discarded the conventional theory of the origin of their people. Dr. Zollschan has pointed out that it is incorrect to speak of the Semitic race, as this term, like the collateral expression Aryan, simply applies to a family group of languages, but affords no indication of the racial kinship of those among whom they are spoken. According to Zollschan the Jews, at the time of their entry upon the arena of history, were the product of an amalgamation of the peoples of North Africa with those of South-Western Asia, and they were particularly influenced by the Assyrian and Babylonian elements among the latter as regards their complexion. Judt, on the other hand, believes that the Hittites formed the physical nucleus of the Jews, who owe to them their distinctive physiognomical traits, whilst according to Professor von Luschan the three principal elements in the composition of the Jewish type were the Semites, the Aryan Amorites, and the Hittites. But although it is impossible to establish with exactitude the genesis of the Jewish type, since anthropological science still provides a field of heated conflict, it is sufficient to know that according to unbiassed authorities the racial amalgamation

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ignaz Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Art. "Nose" in *Jewish Encyclopædia*, IX.

of which the Jews are the product took place some four thousand years ago and that the Jewish type has been preserved intact to the present day.

The evidence of history strongly supports the view that the Jewish race did not suffer any appreciable influx of alien blood in Europe. The Jewish community in almost every town was both locally and socially segregated from the rest of the population. There was a widespread feeling of hostility between Jews and Gentiles throughout the Middle Ages, which afforded little encouragement to mixed marriages, and both Synagogue and Church strictly forbade such unions. Moreover, the Rabbis discouraged proselytism, and the records of conversion show that the Jewish community lost far more in deserters than it gained in proselytes. The only notable exception consisted of the Chazars, a people of Turkish origin, who formed an independent kingdom in the South of Russia from the seventh to the eleventh century, and whose ruling classes embraced Judaism in 620.<sup>1</sup> But the descendants of these Jewish converts were subsequently absorbed among the Karaites, who do not intermarry with orthodox Jews, and thus they cannot form an argument against the purity of the Jewish race. In any case the amount of intermarriage with Jews is known not to have been great, and its physical effects must have been eliminated in the course of a few generations, as small admixtures from an alien stock leave no anthropological trace behind them. Mixed marriages, so far as has been ascertained, are less fertile than purely Jewish marriages, owing either to racial incongruity or to the characteristics of the social stratum in which they mostly take place, and all but a tenth of the offspring of such unions go over to Christianity.<sup>2</sup> It may therefore be safely concluded that the Jews are comparatively free from any strain of alien blood derived from the nations of Europe, whatever admixture they may have contributed themselves to these nations. Beyond the zone of the Western world, however, there are indeed three historic cases of alien admixture with Jewish blood: the Jews of Abyssinia, known as Falashas, who claim descent from the retinue of Menelik, the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and who present a negroid type; the Black Jews of India, and the Chinese Jews of Kai-Fung-Foo, who have dwindled to a mere handful. But these abnormal types are comparatively few in number,

<sup>1</sup> According to A. Harkavy, *Meassef Niddahim*, I; other authorities give 740 as the date of conversion.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bk. VI, Chap. III, *Drift and Apostasy*.

and, owing to their remoteness and isolation, they cannot be considered as affecting the purity of the general body of the Jewish race.

If we desire a concrete and impartial testimony that the Jewish type has not undergone any appreciable alteration in Europe during the last two thousand years, we shall find it in the imposing monuments that have been brought to light from the buried cities of Babylonia. The bas-reliefs of Hebrew prisoners taken by Shishak in 973 B.C.E., and of the inhabitants of Lachish who submitted to Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., present a striking resemblance to the prominent Jewish type of the present day. The preservation of this type from so remote a period is due primarily to racial evolution and successive centuries of inbreeding, but it is not less due to common national experiences which have endowed it with specific qualities of a physical and moral order. Behind the walls of the Ghetto the Jewish type was carefully protected from the influence of its alien environment, and there it also received a special impress, the product of exile and oppression. The chronic outbreaks of massacre and banishment, the unceasing reign of petty despotism, economic misery, and nervous alarm, have wrought traces upon the organism of the Jew: they have bent and stunted his body, whilst they have sharpened his mind and brightened his eye; they have given him a narrow chest, feeble muscles, and pale complexion; they have stamped his visage with a look of pensive sadness, as though ever brooding upon the wrongs of ages. But the frame that has endured and survived so much suffering is also endowed with a high degree of resistance.

In the remotest regions there may be found Jews of a similar type, as in Aden and Galicia, in Egypt and Persia, in Samarcand and Palestine,<sup>1</sup> and yet we cannot assert that there is a single uniform type at the present day. A few hours' careful observation among the Jewish inhabitants of a Western city, or even a few moments' scrutiny among the delegates at a Zionist Congress, would soon reveal the existence of varied types. The principal cause of this variation is not far to seek: it consists in the influence of local environment, which impresses upon the Jewish physiognomy some of the traits of the predominant type, a process favoured in Western countries by

<sup>1</sup> W. Z. Ripley, in *The Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), has published photographs showing the similarity between Jewish types of Russia, Caucasus, Arabia, Syria, Tunis, Bokhara, and India. See also *Das Ostjüdische Antlitz*, by Arnold Zweig, illustrated by H. Struck (Berlin, 1920).

the increase of social intercourse with non-Jews as well as by the preference of the non-Jewish type for marriage both by Jew and Jewess. Thus it is that several eminent Jews of the last fifty years have had little similarity to the average racial type: Cesare Lombroso in Italy, Sir Julian Goldsmid in England, Georg Brandes in Denmark, Baron Maurice de Hirsch in France, and Justice Brandeis in the United States, have all shown a marked resemblance to the characteristic type of their native country, whilst Dr. Theodor Herzl, on the other hand, recalled the majestic presence of an Assyrian emperor. But although these types show a divergence from what is popularly called the Jewish type, there is no ground for denying the existence of the latter as is done by some writers, since the majority of Jews present—to use a mathematical term—the highest common factor of physical and physiognomical characteristics distinguishing them from non-Jews. The truest statement of the position would be that there is a variety of Jewish types, each possessing an unmistakable Jewish factor and yet presenting a certain resemblance to the predominant local type, which results from the unconscious mimicry of muscular movements. This difference has been characterized as a difference in the social type of Jewry, which helps us to read in the face of each Jew the land of his origin, and to see whether he is a native of Russia, Germany, England, or America. That which is popularly known as the Jewish expression is found mostly among those who live in or originate from Eastern communities, and it has even been observed to develop at a later age in the case of some who have not had it in their youth, but, on the whole, it diminishes among those who have constant intercourse with non-Jews and who live beyond the influence of a Jewish atmosphere.

The physiological characteristics of the Jew are not due to any organic peculiarities of a racial origin, but to social, historic, and economic causes. Having dwelt for nearly two thousand years in towns, and for the greater period in the most insalubrious and congested quarters, and having been compelled to endure all manner of persecution in his struggle for existence, he possesses a constitution that combines a poor muscular development with a highly developed nervous system. His average height in Eastern Europe is five feet three or four inches, whilst that of the Jewish immigrants in the United States is five feet five inches<sup>1</sup>; but the native Jews both of New York and London are taller than their foreign parents

<sup>1</sup> *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 282. New York, 1907.

and thus demonstrate how susceptible is the physique of the Jew to the influence of environment. The inferiority of the Eastern Jew in chest development is still more striking. Among healthy and normally developed people the girth of the chest equals or even exceeds half the stature, but this proportion is far from common among the Jewish masses of Russia and Poland. Investigations spread over twelve years (1886-97) showed that among every 1000 Jewish conscripts in Russia there were 491 whose chest-measurement was less than half their height, whilst among 1000 Christian conscripts there were only 128.<sup>1</sup> Among the recruits in Latvia in 1921-24 the average height of the Jews was only 164.4 cm., whilst that of all other nationalities was 169.5 cm.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the strongest man known in our times was a Polish Jew, Sigmund Breitbart, who held vast audiences in the theatres of Europe and America spellbound by his phenomenal feats of physical strength until his death, by blood-poisoning, in 1925.

Despite his pallid face and feeble frame the Jew displays a remarkable strength in resisting disease. Cooped up in the poorest, the most crowded and insanitary districts of great cities, where the air is foul and the light is bad, he succeeds in living to a great and even venerable age. Denied the boon of invigorating his stock with the blood of a country-bred element, an advantage open to all other nations, he nevertheless succeeds in perpetuating his line to a fourth and fifth generation. The secret of his health and longevity lies wholly in his mode of life, which is prescribed and fashioned by law and custom. But some of his immunity from certain diseases may rightly be referred to heredity, for a stock that has survived the perils and persecutions of many ages must have inevitably become stiffened in the process. The most tangible grounds of the good health of the Jew, however, consist in the dietary and hygienic laws which he observes as faithfully as the Ten Commandments, in his notable sobriety, in the weekly Sabbath rest, and in the quietude and purity of his family life. The legislation of the Bible and the Talmud was directed to secure the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of mankind, and all the religious codes accepted by orthodox Jewry preserve and emphasize this principle. The prohibition of certain beasts, birds, and fish, as unclean for food, the careful examination of animals after slaughter to see that they are free from any disease of the lungs or pleura, and the draining of the blood from meat before

<sup>1</sup> *Jüdische Statistik*, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1925, p. 130.



cooking, combine to protect the body from elements that might be injurious and diminish the liability to contract such maladies as bovine tuberculosis, trichiniasis, and typhoid fever. The cleanliness of the person is secured by a strict insistence upon the use of baths and ablutions as almost a religious duty. The hands and face must be washed in the morning before any food is touched; the hands must always be washed after relieving nature and after touching any part of the body that is usually covered, and they must likewise be washed before every meal. The Jew, moreover, laves his hands again after the meal, before uttering grace. A bath is prescribed before Sabbaths and festivals, and the *Mikvah* or ritual bath (which must contain at least 120 gallons of water) must be visited by every woman at least once a month.<sup>1</sup> The ritual observance of these practices is slowly falling into desuetude in Western countries, but it is faithfully upheld in Eastern communities. The cleanliness of the home is secured by the scrubbing and cleaning of the living-rooms on the eve of every Sabbath and festival, and by the thorough scouring and scraping of every nook and cranny in the house—walls, woodwork, floors, furniture—on the eve of Passover, the latter operation being more thorough, if anything, than the usual English spring cleaning.

The salutary effect of these dietary and hygienic regulations is supplemented by moderation in alcoholic indulgence, for although the Jew drinks wine for the ceremonial of sanctification on Sabbaths and feasts and takes spirits on all festive occasions, he knows how to set a discreet limit to his appetite. There are no temperance leagues in Jewry, and yet in no other community is the number of drunkards or of those suffering from alcoholic excess so small in proportion. The perfect repose of body and mind secured by the Sabbath and by the more important festivals, which amount to thirteen days in the year, affords an excellent means of recuperation from toil and worry, for these religious celebrations are free from those drinking bouts which desecrate what should be the solemn days of other communities. And a further series of important factors consist in the early age of marriage, the sanctity of the family tie, and the devotion which parents lavish upon the upbringing of children. Finally, the whole philosophy of the

<sup>1</sup> In Germany, of 1400 Jewish communities, 772 have a *Mikvah*. In Russia, before the Great War, there was hardly a single community without one (*Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 87). In Western countries it is being replaced by the domestic bath.

Jew is coloured by the view that life is a very precious thing and that everything may be sacrificed to its preservation. The guiding principle of the Rabbis, based on the dictum of the Pentateuch (Lev. XVIII. 5), was that the laws and statutes of the Bible were given so that man might live by them and not die through them.<sup>1</sup> Hence they declared that in case of danger to life one might commit any transgression except idolatry, murder, and adultery<sup>2</sup>; and the relaxation they allowed had special application to the Sabbath, on which the doctor might heal the sick, though all other work was forbidden.

In the light of this hygienic dispensation it is not surprising that the Jews everywhere have a lower rate of mortality than the people among whom they live, even though they generally dwell in the most crowded and insanitary districts. In no country that has been investigated does their annual mortality exceed 20 per 1000. Between 1876 and 1910 their mortality in Prussia, Bavaria, and Hesse declined from 17·8 to 13·8 per 1000, and in 1911 their mortality in Prussia was 14·1 as compared with 17·4 of the Christian population,<sup>3</sup> whilst in 1920 the respective figures were 14·2 and 15·4 per 1000.<sup>4</sup> In Hungary their death-rate in 1913 was 14·1, as compared with 23·5 per 1000 of the general population<sup>5</sup>; and in Vienna, in 1911, it was 14·99, contrasting with a mortality of 16·45 per 1000 of the general population.<sup>6</sup> They enjoy the same advantage in Eastern Europe too. Thus, in 1903, in Russia, they had a mortality of only 14·5, whilst that of the Orthodox Russians was 32·2 and that of the Mohammedans 24·3 per 1000; and in Poland they had a death-rate of 15·8, whilst that of the Catholics was 23.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the average death-rate of the Jews in Bulgaria declined between 1891-95 and 1901-4 from 23·10 to 15·49 per 1000, whilst that of the general population only declined from 27·86 to 22·68<sup>8</sup>; and in Rumania the Jewish death-rate between 1907 and 1910 declined from 18·94 to 16·85, whilst that of the general population only declined from 26·4 to 25·38<sup>9</sup>. The same phenomenon has been corroborated among the Jews in London, Manchester, and New York. In Whitechapel, according to Dr. J. Loane, who gave evidence before

<sup>1</sup> Talmud, Yoma, 85b.

<sup>2</sup> Pesachim, 25a.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, January and September.

<sup>4</sup> *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1923, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie u. Stat. d. Juden*, 1911, pp. 39-44. In 1926 the mortality of Jews in Soviet Russia was 9·11 per 1000, compared with 21·01 for Russians, 18·04 for Ukrainians, 16·54 for Germans, and 14·66 for Poles.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 16.

the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in 1902, the death-rate of the district in the period 1880-1900, when the Jews settled there in large numbers, declined from 26 to 18 per 1000, and the foreigners had a death-rate of 15.6 as against the native rate of 20<sup>1</sup>; in Manchester during the years 1900-2, the death-rate for the entire city was 21.78, whilst in the Jewish district of Cheetham it was only 16.99<sup>2</sup>; and in New York, during the six years ending May 31, 1890, the Jews had a mortality of 14.85 per 1000, which was lower than that of any other race in the city.<sup>3</sup>

The favourable position of the Jews in regard to mortality in general is exemplified very strikingly by the rate of infantile mortality, which everywhere forms a good proportion of the general mortality. Thus, according to the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, the infant mortality increased in London in the period 1886-1900 from 153 to 161 per 1000 births, whilst the Whitechapel district showed a decline from 170 to 144.<sup>4</sup> In Manchester, in 1921-22, the infant death-rate in Cheetham was only 75, whilst in the non-Jewish district of Hulme it was 130.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, investigations have proved that those districts which are mostly inhabited by Jews in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston, although the most overcrowded and insanitary, have the lowest rate of child mortality.<sup>6</sup> An investigation made by Dr. Robert E. Woodbury, in 1925, in New York showed that the death-rate among Jewish children was only 53 as against 200 per 1000 in the case of Portuguese Roman Catholics.<sup>7</sup> In the Grand Duchy of Hesse the average rate of infant mortality in 1906-10 was 129 per 1000 of the Christian population, but among the Jews it was only 72<sup>8</sup>; and in Hungary, in 1910, the mortality of Jewish children under 7 years of age formed 35.8 per cent of all Jewish deaths, whilst among the Protestants it was 42.1, and among the Catholics 49.7 per cent.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in Russia, according to the census of 1897, the infant mortality was 150 per 1000 births among the Jews, whilst it was 154.2 among the Catholics and 274.3 among the Greek Orthodox<sup>10</sup>; and in Cracow, which is typical of Galicia, the corresponding

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of Evidence* (1903), 4538-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 799.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Billings, *Vital Statistics of the Jews in the United States* (1890).

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes of Evidence*, 3960, 21742-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, Oct. 20, 1922.

<sup>6</sup> *The Immigrant Jew in America*.

<sup>7</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, June 26, 1925.

<sup>8</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, p. 29.

average rate for 1894-6 was 155 for the Jews but 171 for the Christians.<sup>1</sup>

The low death-rate of Jewish children is due to the scrupulous care of the mothers in rearing their offspring. Throughout Eastern Europe Jewesses after marriage very rarely work in factories or at home; they invariably nurse their children at the breast; and in all parts of the world they are known to display an excessive solicitude about the health of their children and to seek the best medical advice on the least suspicion that anything is wrong. The low rate of the general mortality must be also attributed partly, in addition to the factors previously mentioned, to the nature of the occupations in which Jews engage. The large majority, particularly in Eastern Europe, are merchants or small traders or engage in indoor occupations, and thus belong to the long-lived class. Their avoidance of dangerous trades, such as mining, building, and railway employment, is due not to any deliberate precaution but, for the most part, to the fact that such occupations would involve, more seriously than others, regular isolation from the Jewish community and violation of the Sabbath. We are thus led to the conclusion that the low mortality of Jewry is due in the main to its specific social, hygienic, and economic conditions, a view that is supported by the fact that the death-rate of the Jews is smallest where they live apart whilst it increases where they freely intermingle with their non-Jewish neighbours.<sup>2</sup> But apart from all these considerations it is only natural that the Jews who have waged such a long and stubborn fight against the forces of destruction should have acquired a certain ingenuity in the art of defeating Death.

The favourable conditions of health enjoyed by the Jews may be illustrated by examining the degree of their liability to various diseases. Contagious maladies, which work with such rapid and pernicious effects among most peoples, do not attack them at all so seriously, despite the apparent opportunities offered by a Ghetto environment.<sup>3</sup> In 1909 there was an outbreak of cholera in Vitebsk, which (according to the census of 1897) contained 34,420 Jews and 31,299 non-Jews, but whilst 472 non-Jews were attacked, of whom 219 died, only

<sup>1</sup> *Die Juden in Österreich*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Among American Jews the death-rate of the native-born is 9·16 per cent, but that of the foreign-born 7·61 per cent (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. IX, art. "Mortality").

<sup>3</sup> In the Middle Ages the Black Death, which carried away so many thousands of people, left the Jews almost untouched, and hence they were accused of causing the death of others by poisoning the wells.

186 Jews were attacked, of whom 70 died. The morbidity of the Jews was thus only 5, and that of their neighbours 15 per 1000.<sup>1</sup> The Jews are also more immune than their neighbours from typhoid fever. Thus in Budapest, in 1886, their mortality from this disease was only 46 per 100,000, whilst that of the Catholics was 66, and of the Lutherans 76.<sup>2</sup> In Odessa, in 1921-22, their mortality from spotted typhus was 8.5 per 100, whilst that of the Russians was 12.5.<sup>3</sup> And in New York, during the six years ending May 31, 1900, their mortality from typhoid was only 9.19 per 100,000, a lower rate than that of any other people. They suffer less from smallpox, as they practise vaccination regularly, and in the epidemic of 1900-3 in New York they were almost completely immune, as they were in the outbreak in Manchester in 1902.<sup>4</sup> They are less liable to pneumonia, as their indoor occupations do not expose them to the rigours of the weather or the chilling of the body; and as they are not habitual drunkards they can offer a more effective resistance to the disease. On the other hand, owing to their being mostly townsfolk with indoor occupations, they are very liable to chronic bronchitis and asthma; and heart disease claims a great number of victims, owing partly to their unusually severe struggle for existence and partly to their having a large proportion of old persons, who are naturally liable to the malady. In the United States the Jewish mortality from heart disease is double that of the general population. Rheumatism is also common, and so are varicose veins, especially among women, owing to their sedentary habits and their frequent pregnancy. A special form of the latter affection consists of hemorrhoids, which are more prevalent among Jews than among other people. This malady is particularly common among the Jews of Eastern Europe; its causation is due to a sedentary life, and is generally attributed to sitting nearly the whole day on the hard benches of the *Beth Hamidrash*, studying the Talmud. The incidence of cancer among Jews in any city generally follows that obtaining among their non-Jewish neighbours, though it varies in regard to particular organs. Thus, among Jews cancer is more liable to attack the gastro-intestinal organs, whilst cancer of the breast is less frequent among Jewish than among non-Jewish women.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> J. von Körösi in *Publikationen des Statistischen Bureaus*, Budapest, Berlin, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1923, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes of Evidence*, Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, 21, 794.

<sup>5</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, Sept. 26, 1924, and July 27, 1928. (Paper by Dr. M. Sourasky.)

Whether Jews show any particular immunity in regard to consumption is still a matter of dispute, though the bulk of the evidence would seem to be in their favour. Investigations made in Russia, New South Wales, and London, show that the Jews are less liable than their neighbours to this disease. In 1897 the Jewish Board of Guardians of London appointed a committee to inquire into the alleged increasing prevalence of consumption among the Jewish poor with a view to adopting preventive measures, but the inquiry established the fact that there had not been any increase of this disease during the previous fifteen years. Dr. J. S. Billings has shown that the death-rate from consumption in New York and Brooklyn for the six years ending May 31, 1900, was lowest among the Jewish population, a result confirmed by Dr. M. Fishberg, who has made investigations in the New York Ghetto, showing that the death-rate from this disease was 565·06 per 100,000 among non-Jews, but only 110·56 among Jews.<sup>1</sup> The pursuit of sedentary occupations, such as tailoring and boot-making, in the crowded dwellings of congested districts in big cities, would lead one to expect a greater frequency of this malady among Jews, but there are counteracting factors in the careful inspection of their meat, the rarity of alcoholism, the regular cleaning of the house, and their general employment in trades that do not expose them to the inclemency of the weather. The eating of *kosher* meat and the moderate indulgence in intoxicants would seem to be the two chief causes for checking the ravages of consumption. On the other hand, diseases of the digestive organs, such as nervous dyspepsia and diabetes, are rather frequent causes of death, being due largely to excessive anxiety and a lack of proper exercise. Whether Jews are more often attacked by diabetes than their neighbours is another moot point, but Dr. Fishberg has shown that it is mostly a question of the nativity of the Jews, those in Germany falling easier victims to the malady than their co-religionists in Russia, France, or England.<sup>2</sup> The extent to which Jews are liable to diseases of the digestive organs is evidenced by the large numbers in which they flock every summer to such watering-places on the Continent as Carlsbad and Marienbad. Of eye-diseases trachoma is rather frequent among the Jews of Eastern Europe, owing to their insanitary surroundings, but effective measures of prevention and healing have been adopted in recent years in consequence of this ailment being a ground for

<sup>1</sup> *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. IV., art. "Diabetes."

the exclusion of immigrants seeking to enter England, America, or Palestine. Of skin diseases eczema is said to be more common among Jews than among non-Jews, a phenomenon also due to an insanitary environment. Sexual diseases are notably less common, the comparative immunity being due partly to superiority in moral relations, partly to moderation in intoxicants, and partly to circumcision; but the favourable position of the Jew in this respect is slowly receding in Western countries, in which there is increasing intercourse with the non-Jewish population.

The position of the Jewish child in regard to disease, as can be deduced from its comparatively low death-rate, is strikingly favourable and is due to the greater devotion and care exercised by the mother both before and after birth. Jewish children succumb less frequently than others to diphtheria, croup, measles, and whooping-cough, but they more often die from scarlet fever. They show a better resistance to infantile diarrhoea, the mortality from which is only about a third of that among non-Jewish infants. They are also less liable to rickets, atrophy, and scrofula. Striking evidence on this point was given before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration by Dr. W. Hall of Leeds, who found 50 per cent of the Christian children in a poor school suffering from rickets, but only 8 per cent of the children in a school of the better class, whereas in a Jewish school of poor children he found only 7 per cent attacked by this ailment.<sup>1</sup>

The liability of the Jews to nervous diseases is a subject of peculiar and pathetic interest. Distinguished by the superiority of their nervous over their muscular system, they are more prone to mental affections than other people in whom the nervous system is relatively less highly developed. According to various authorities the frequency of mental diseases among Jews is from four to five times higher than among non-Jews. It is chiefly nervous diseases of a functional order, however, to which they are subject, particularly neurasthenia and hysteria, the latter being found among males to a notable degree. The Jewish population of Warsaw was once said to form an inexhaustible source of supply of hysterical males for the clinics of the whole Continent.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Jews are less liable to organic nervous diseases than non-Jews, thanks to the comparative infrequency among them of alcoholism and

<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, August 19, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Étude des Maladies du Système Nerveux en Russie* (Raymond), p. 71, Paris, 1889.

syphilis. Their peculiar position in respect to these disorders is due to a combination of historical and social factors. They have had to endure an endless cycle of persecutions ever since their exile from Palestine ; they have been almost exclusively denizens of towns throughout that period, denied the stimulating influx of country blood ; and they have largely been engaged in intellectual or commercial pursuits and been exposed to the worry and anxiety incidental thereto. These factors, operating for so long a period and over so wide an area, have rendered the Jewish nervous system peculiarly susceptible of attack, and they continue to exert undiminished sway to the present day throughout Eastern Europe. The persistent espionage and oppression to which the Jews in Russia were formerly exposed, and the chronic pogroms and the fear of their recurrence to which they are still exposed, have wrought disastrous effects among them—driving hundreds, nay thousands, into an incurable state of insanity. According to the Russian census of 1897 the Jews had 9·84 mentally diseased in every 10,000, whilst the Russians had only 9·54 and the Poles 8·51.<sup>1</sup> It might reasonably be presumed that this unfavourable proportion has since become worse in consequence of the wholesale massacres of Jews in the autumn of 1905 and the unparalleled butcheries of 1918–21 in the Ukraine, yet a report published by the Statistical Bureau of Odessa on the total number of cases of insanity in that city in the period 1911–20 showed that Jews formed only 26·2 per cent, although their ratio of the population in the same period actually rose from 30 to 44·9 per cent.<sup>2</sup> An important point that must be borne in mind, however, in regard to the comparative frequency of insanity among Jews is that they are almost exclusively an urban population, whilst almost half of the non-Jewish world lives in the country : thus a Jewish lunatic must invariably be brought into a public asylum, a necessity that operates to a less degree in the case of Gentile lunatics, and hence the disproportion between recorded Jewish and non-Jewish lunatics can to a certain extent be discounted. Despite the relatively high degree, however, in which Jews are attacked by nervous ailments, they are comparatively free from the severer or fatal forms of these diseases. Thus the mortality of the Russian Jews in New York from nervous maladies in the six years ending May 31, 1890, was 117·68 per 100,000<sup>3</sup>; whilst that of the Bohemians

<sup>1</sup> *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland*, p. 68, Berlin, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1925, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 299.



was 336·76, of the white Americans 293·48, and of the Irish 242·44.<sup>1</sup>

Although insanity is the most potent predisposing cause of suicide, self-destruction, before the War, was on the whole comparatively rare among Jews. The reason was to be sought in the controlling influence of religion, which is a recognized deterrent of self-murder, as well as in the traditional view of the Jew in looking upon life as something sacred. Throughout the crowded Jewish centres in Eastern Europe, where orthodoxy has its stronghold, suicide was a very infrequent phenomenon: only in periods of pogroms, when Jewish wives were dishonoured and Jewish girls were outraged, was there a notable manifestation of suicidal tendency. The cause was certainly sufficient. But since the War there has been a very disquieting increase of suicides both in Eastern and Western Jewry, especially in the former. Among the Jews in Poland, and notably in Warsaw, there has been a veritable suicide epidemic during the last few years, due to the despair begotten of a prolonged spell of acute economic distress. The evil first became particularly virulent in 1925, when there were 32 cases of suicide among the Jews in Warsaw in a couple of days. In order to stem the epidemic the Rabbis preached sermons, published appeals to their flocks to have faith in better times, and adjured them not to attend the burial of suicides, and also enacted that those who took their own lives should be buried outside the limits of the cemetery. Their appeals, however, had only a passing effect, as in 1928 as many as 891 Jews (of whom 591 were women) committed suicide in Warsaw, forming more than one-half of the total number of suicides (1680) for the year in that city,<sup>2</sup> although the Jews constitute only a third of the population. A similar alarming increase of suicides has taken place in Germany and Austria, which has also been due for the most part to the aftermath of the War, with its crop of business failures and general economic distress. In Prussia the statistics of the years 1912-19 show that whilst the rate among the non-Jewish population declined from 22 to 18 per 100,000, it increased among the Jews from 32 to 40—a disparity of ominous significance.<sup>3</sup> Similarly among the Jews in Vienna, from 1914 to 1920, the rate of suicide was 2·52 per 1000, whilst among the non-Jews it was only 1·98.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also "Die Krankheiten der Juden" in *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin of Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 2, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> *Preussische Statist. Korrespondenz*, Vols. 40-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, August 8, 1926.

Although modern Jewry has such a favourable record in regard to mortality and disease it has a remarkably diminishing birth-rate, which is lower than the birth-rate of the general population in all the countries of Europe. Thus, in Prussia, the average Jewish birth-rate sank from 31·6 per 1000 in 1876-80 to 15·5 in 1920.<sup>1</sup> This contrasts very unfavourably not only with the general birth-rate in Prussia, 25·7 per 1000, and with the general birth-rate for Germany, 28·7, but also with that of France in 1914, 18·9, which is commonly regarded as the lowest birth-rate in Europe. In Austria, the Jewish birth-rate declined between 1900 and 1924 from 22·17 to 15·50 per 1000,<sup>2</sup> and in Hungary between 1901-5 and 1906-10 from 31·4 to 28·6, falling again in 1913 to 26·7 (compared with 34·5 per 1000 of the general population).<sup>3</sup> Even in the countries farther east, where traditional piety still has its stronghold, the ancient ideal of being fruitful and multiplying is steadily waning. Thus, in Galicia the Jewish births between 1899 and 1909 declined from 41·41 to 34·40 per 1000 (probably partly due to the large emigration); in Rumania, between 1903 and 1910, they declined from 32·29 to 29·33, whilst the birth-rate of the general population increased from 40·14 to 50·11<sup>4</sup>; and in Bulgaria, between 1891-95 and 1907, they declined from 37·58 to 32·27, whilst the birth-rate of the general population rose from 37·49 to 43·85.<sup>5</sup> The same phenomenon has also manifested itself in Russia, where between 1900 and 1903 the Jewish birth-rate declined from 36·14 to 29·13, which contrasts strikingly with the birth-rate of the Greek Orthodox, 51·3 per 1000,<sup>6</sup> whilst in Poland likewise the Jews have the lowest birth-rate of any denomination, 30, that of the Greek Orthodox being 43·26 per 1000.

This diminution of the birth-rate has altered the composition of the Jewish family, for whilst most families contained 4 to 6 children even as recently as thirty years ago, they now have only 2 to 4, and there is an increasing tendency to restrict the number to two. The cause of this diminution is mainly to be found in the increase of celibacy and the postponement of marriage, with the consequent curtailment of the period of fertility, due to the increased standard of comfort and education; whilst a subsidiary cause consists in the prudential restraint and the sterilizing effect of nervous irritability preva-

<sup>1</sup> *Blätter f. Jüd. Demog.*, 1923, p. 115.    <sup>2</sup> *Wiener Morgenzeitung*, Aug. 8, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> *Blätter f. Jüd. Demog.*, 1924, p. 222.    <sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Demog.*, 1912, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 17.    <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1911, pp. 39-44. In 1926 the birth-rate of Jews in Russia was 24·08 per 1000, of Russians 43·65, and of Ukrainians 42·35.

lent among educated classes. These causes operate, it is true, amongst nearly all town-dwellers, Jewish or Gentile; but the Jews are almost exclusively a town-people, whereas the Christians are to a large extent a rural folk whose high birth-rate counterbalances the low birth-rate of the town-population. To such a degree has celibacy now spread in modern Jewry that its marriage-rate has sunk below that of the Christian population almost throughout Europe. In Germany, from 1910 to 1919, the marriage-rate of the general population was invariably higher than that of the Jewish population, the figures for 1919 being 13.4 and 13.1 per 1000 respectively<sup>1</sup>; and in Vienna, in 1919-24, the figures were respectively 12.49 and 10.40 per 1000.<sup>2</sup> The same phenomenon has also manifested itself farther east. Thus, in Lemberg, in 1911, the marriage-rate of the general population was 9.9 per 1000, but that of the Jews only 8.8; and in Rumania, in 1910, the figures were respectively 9.44 and 6.09 per 1000.<sup>3</sup> In Russia, too, so far as comparative statistics are available, the traditional ideal of founding a family is on the wane: thus in Elisabethgrad, in the period 1921-24, the marriage-rate among the Russians declined only from 20 to 17 per 1000, whilst that among the Jews declined from 12 to 9.<sup>4</sup>

The diminishing birth-rate of the Jews is partly counterbalanced by their low rate of mortality, but the advantage that they possess in this respect is limited in effect, and the net result is a lower rate of natural increase than that of the general population. Thus, in Germany, in 1905-10, the general population increased by 7.06 per cent (the Protestants by 6.23 and the Catholics by 7.74 per cent), whilst the Jews increased only by 1.17 per cent.<sup>5</sup> In Holland, in 1909-19, the general population increased by 17.19 per cent, but the Jews only by 8.29 per cent.<sup>6</sup> In Galicia, in the period 1910-21, which included the Great War, the general population diminished by 6.5 per cent, but the Jewish population by 17.5 per cent, whilst in the same period Bohemia witnessed an increase of the general population by 1.13 per cent, with a decrease of the Jewish population by 7.9 per cent, and Moravia a decrease of the general population by 1.64 per cent, with a decrease of the Jewish population by 17.5 per cent. The effect of this diminishing rate of increase is that the Jews form a diminishing proportion

<sup>1</sup> *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1923, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Juden Wiens*, von C. Goldhammer, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Blätter für Jüd. Demog.*, 1924, pp. 221 and 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1923, p. 170.

of the general population in many European countries where there is no powerful stream of immigration. In Germany, in 1870, there were 125 Jews in every 10,000 of the population, but in 1925 there were only 100. This diminution was also partly due to apostasy and emigration, and it would even have assumed larger dimensions but for the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe. Similarly, in Austria, in 1890 there were 478 Jews in every 10,000 of the population, but by 1925 the proportion had fallen to 460<sup>1</sup>; and in Italy, between 1861 and 1925 the proportion fell from 13.31 to 10 per 10,000 of the total population. Moreover, the Jewish percentage of the general population decreased in Congress Poland from 13.5 in 1897 to 12.5 in 1921, in the Ukraine from 9.1 in 1897 to 6.9 in 1920, and in Galicia from 11.1 in 1900 to 9.9 in 1921.<sup>2</sup> The declining rate of increase of the Jews is in itself an ominous sign for the future; whilst the diminishing ratio which they form of the general population in so many countries is a further disquieting factor, as it exposes them in a steadily growing measure to the forces of assimilation. It is, indeed, true that the Jews in the United States have increased from 2.5 per cent of the general population in 1913 to 3 per cent in 1925, but this difference is slight, and owing to the severe restriction of immigration, the latter ratio is likely to decline in the near future and the Jews will be exposed to the same forces of assimilation as in other lands.

<sup>1</sup> The increase in the Jewish population of Vienna from 1910 to 1923 was 8.9 per cent less than in the period 1900-10. (*Die Juden Wiens*, von C. Goldhammer, p. 64.)

<sup>2</sup> *Blätter für Jüdische Demographie*, 1925, p. 7. According to an analysis of the Russian Census of 1926 just issued by the Russo-Jewish Statistical Bureau, the rate of increase of the Jews was only 14.97 per 1000, which was lower than that of the other principal nationalities of Soviet Russia, viz.: Russians, 22.64, Ukrainians, 24.31, Germans, 28.82, Poles, 19.15.

## BOOK III

### THE POLITICAL ASPECT

#### INTRODUCTION

The diversity of political status before and after the Great War.

“**P**EACE and goodwill unto all” was the gladsome message of the Saviour that Christendom owes to Jewry, but war and ill-will were the sinister policy practised by all the nations against the Jews for eighteen centuries thereafter, and by some even to the present day. The relentless foe of the Jews throughout the Middle Ages was the Church, which dominated the destinies of the State in almost every country in which they were settled, and which regarded all who stood outside her fold as the fit prey of humiliating restrictions and ruinous taxation. They owed their first breath of liberty in Europe not to any clemency on the part of the Church, but to a movement which swept her power away and set up in her place the goddess of Reason. It was the French Revolution which first released the people of Israel from the shackles of mediævalism and endowed them with the rights of human beings, though this act of liberalism was even anticipated by the United States by a few years. The step was too bold and revolutionary to be followed by other countries immediately : most of them, after protracted internal struggles, did not admit their Jewish subjects to the rights of citizenship until the middle of the nineteenth century, the order in which they effected this measure reflecting the march of the idea of toleration.

Until the outbreak of the Great War one-half of the Jewish people—the six million Jews in Russia and Rumania—were still kept in a state of bondage, to which the annals of history offer no parallel, and from which there was no escape except in emigration. It was thanks to this exodus, proceeding westward, and swelling in some years to the extent of a hundred thousand souls and more, that many of the Jewish communities in Great Britain, America, and the British Dominions

owed their birth, and most of them their development. The long-awaited day of political emancipation for the Jews in Russia came at last in March, 1917, with the outbreak of the Revolution, but it proved a mixed blessing, since it brought in its train the suppression of religious liberty. Upon the conclusion of the Great War the rest of the Jews in Europe were likewise enfranchised, thanks to the Treaties containing special Articles guaranteeing the rights of religious and racial minorities, which were concluded both with the new States, such as Poland, Lithuania, and Czecho-Slovakia, that came into existence, as well as with previously existing States, such as Rumania, Greece, and Hungary, which changed their frontiers. Complete civil equality, however, is still far from being the lot of the Jews in all of these countries, as some of them have violated their undertakings, and hence recurrent representations must be made to the League of Nations—the guarantor of the Minorities Treaties—in order to obtain redress.

The Jews are distinguished by their loyalty in all the lands of their dispersion and likewise by their self-sacrifice in times of war (though often arrayed against one another in opposing ranks). Wherever they are permitted the unfettered exercise of their civil rights they take an active part in municipal and political life, and they have attained the greatest honours and risen to positions of the highest eminence in the Governments of States. But there are still large regions, particularly in Europe, in which their enjoyment of civil equality is hampered by official hostility or embittered by racial prejudice.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE EMANCIPATION OF WESTERN JEWRY

Mediæval disabilities—The liberating effects of the French Revolution—Napoleon and the Paris Sanhedrin—Emancipation in Italy and in Holland—Protracted struggle in Germany—Austria-Hungary—The struggle in England—The United States—The British Dominions—Other countries.

THE first serious attempt to liberate the Jews from the civil and political disabilities imposed upon them in the greater part of mediæval Europe began in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Their disabilities varied in different countries in kind and severity, but they all agreed in so far as the Jews were denied the ordinary rights of citizenship. They were restricted in domicile, in trade, and in the practice of public worship; they could not own land; they were excluded from schools and universities and denied any share in civil and political affairs; they were subjected to a poll-tax which was exacted whenever they passed from one province into another, and they were mulcted in taxes by kings and bishops, in return for a protection which was constantly threatened by the populace. In short, they had no right except the right to exist, and this was exposed to so many wrongs that it was felt as a burden itself. Their disabilities in England were not so galling or burdensome as on the Continent, for here they enjoyed liberty of domicile from their resettlement in 1655 and were free from the humiliation of a poll-tax; but the spirit of toleration in England in the middle of the eighteenth century was still in such a primitive condition that an Act for the naturalization of the Jews passed in 1753 had to be repealed the same year owing to a fierce storm of protest all over the kingdom.

The first country in which the Jews in Europe were granted complete civil equality was France. As early as 1748 Montesquieu had raised his voice on behalf of the Marannos or "secret Jews" in Portugal, and it was in his country that the seed of toleration, assiduously sown by the philosophers of reason, first ripened into fruit. The initial stage in the process of

liberation was the removal of the commercial disabilities to which the Jews of Alsace were exposed in addition to the burdens of tribute that pressed heavily upon all the Jews of France alike. Confined to particular districts and restricted in the matter of trade to dealing in cattle and jewellery, the Jews of Alsace were compelled to engage in money-lending, and the unwillingness or inability of the Christian borrowers to repay their loans provoked a popular agitation against the Jews. Hence the latter, in 1780, presented a petition to Louis XVI for the removal of their trade disabilities, which was granted ; and four years later a decree was issued for the abolition of the poll-tax and the conferment of free choice of domicile. But it was not until 1789 that freedom of religious worship was accorded by the National Assembly in response to the powerful advocacy of Mirabeau and Abbé Grégoire, who pleaded for the extension of the Rights of Man to the Jew. Within the last two weeks of that memorable year the question arose of admitting all citizens, without distinction of creed, to the public service. Again Mirabeau and Grégoire championed the cause of the Jews, but as the Alsatian deputies offered violent opposition a compromise was agreed upon. The Portuguese Jews of Avignon, who had hitherto enjoyed civil rights as naturalized Frenchmen, and against whom there was no hostility, were endowed with full political rights on January 28, 1790. Their brethren in Alsace had to content themselves for a while with a law assuring them protection and the abolition of all special taxes ; but on September 27, 1791, after an ardent appeal by Talleyrand, only a few days before dissolution of the National Assembly, the complete rights of citizenship were conferred upon the 60,000 Jews of France, who were thus the first Jews in Europe to be placed on a political equality with their neighbours.

The emancipation of the Jews of France was confirmed by Napoleon, who also brought the first taste of liberty to their brethren in Germany and Italy. There was, indeed, a moment in Napoleon's Egyptian campaign when he was fired by the ambition of restoring Palestine to its ancient owners, but this glorious prospect was made dependent upon the Jews of Africa and Asia enrolling themselves under his banner, and is to-day merely a theme for historic speculation. The Jewish question in France was reopened by the guild-merchants and religious reactionaries of Alsace, who exploited the inability of the peasants of this province to repay their debts to the Jews by petitioning Napoleon to abrogate the civil rights of the Jews.



The conqueror resolved to submit the question to the consideration of the Jews themselves. He convened an Assembly of Jewish Notables of France, Germany, and Italy, in order to ascertain whether the principles of Judaism were compatible with the requirements of citizenship, as he wished to fuse the Jewish element with the dominant population. The Assembly, consisting of 111 deputies, met in the Town Hall of Paris on July 25, 1806, and was required to frame replies to twelve questions relating mainly to the possibility of Jewish patriotism, the permissibility of intermarriage between Jew and non-Jew, and the legality of usury. So pleased was Napoleon with the pronouncements of the Assembly that he summoned a Sanhedrin after the model of the ancient council of Jerusalem to convert them into the decrees of a legislative body. The Sanhedrin, comprising 71 deputies from France, Germany, Holland, and Italy, met under the presidency of Rabbi Sinzheim, of Strasbourg, on February 9, 1807, and adopted a sort of charter, which exhorted the Jews to look upon France as their fatherland, to regard its citizens as their brethren, and to speak its language, and which also expressed toleration of marriages between Jews and Christians while declaring that they could not be sanctioned by the Synagogue. In order to give legal effect to the decision of the Sanhedrin, Napoleon by special decree (March 17, 1808) instituted a system of consistories for regulating the constitution of the Jewish community. This system remained in force in France until the passing of the Separation Law in 1905, and still survives in Belgium and Alsace. The culmination of Jewish emancipation in France was reached in 1831, when it was resolved that synagogues and Rabbis, like churches and priests, should be supported by the national treasury.

The Jews of France thus owed no extension of their rights to Napoleon but merely a confirmation of them. Their brethren in other lands, however, owed him a more substantial debt of gratitude. In the new Kingdom of Westphalia, which was under the rule of his brother, Jerome, the Jews were granted complete civil equality in 1808, whilst those in the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen were conceded their rights under French pressure in 1811. A similar boon fell to the lot of the Jews of Italy, but both in that country and in the Hanseatic towns it was only of brief duration, for with the downfall of Napoleon there set in a general reaction. Pope Pius VII brought the Inquisition to life again, denuded his Jewish subjects of every freedom, thrust them back again into the Ghetto.

and compelled those who lived in Rome to listen to proselytizing sermons. Not until the Revolution of 1848, which shook the foundations of Europe, did this mediæval servitude come to an end. Even then there was a temporary reaction. But when the Papal States in 1859 became the United Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emanuel II, the Jews at last obtained their full emancipation. Not so those in the city of Rome, who had to wait until 1870 before they were released by the Italian legions from Papal bondage.

The only other country in Europe besides France in which the Jews secured their civil emancipation before the end of the eighteenth century was Holland. Upon the establishment of the Batavian Republic in 1795 the more energetic members of the Jewish community pressed for a removal of the many disabilities under which they laboured. They were compelled to exist as small corporations, so that careful vigilance might be exercised over them ; they were excluded from the trades sacred to the guilds ; they had to contribute to the support of the Church and its schools, from which they received no benefit ; and they had to pay double fees for the registration of marriages. Some of these disabilities were removed in response to vigorous agitation, but the demand for the full rights of citizenship made by the progressive Jews was at first, strangely enough, opposed by the leaders of the Amsterdam community, who feared that civil equality would militate against the conservation of Judaism and declared that their co-religionists renounced their rights of citizenship in obedience to the dictates of their faith. Hence, although the Jews were invited to take part in the elections to the Batavian National Assembly, very few ventured to disobey the prohibition of their leaders. But undeterred by this official opposition a disciple of the school of Mendelssohn, David Friedrichsfeld, wrote an eloquent plea for the enfranchisement of his brethren, and six distinguished Jews presented a petition for the purpose to the National Assembly. The petition, despite a stormy protest, triumphed, and on September 2, 1796, the National Assembly decreed the complete equality of the Jews in the Batavian Republic. In the following year two Jews were elected as deputies for Amsterdam, and any lingering aversion to Jewish emancipation disappeared when one of them, Isaac da Costa Atias, was appointed in 1798 to the high office of President of the Assembly.

The speedy and peaceful attainment of equality in France and Holland forms a striking contrast to the long and bitter

struggle that was necessary in Germany. The struggle began in the days of Frederick the Great, who, despite his reputed liberalism of thought, manifested a bigoted hostility to his Jewish subjects. He severely restricted their numbers in his dominions, limited their marriages, debarred them from most of the skilled trades and liberal professions, and exacted heavy taxes for the privilege of his special protection. The high achievements of Moses Mendelssohn in the world of letters, the eloquent tribute of Lessing's "Nathan the Wise" to Jewish character, the vigorous advocacy of Jewish rights by Christian William Dohm in 1781, all failed to make any impression upon the prejudiced monarch. Dohm's pamphlet met with a readier response from a more enlightened monarch, Joseph II of Austria, who abolished many imposts on Jews, allowed them free choice of trades and professions, admitted them to universities and academies, and founded Jewish schools, but unfortunately this spell of toleration terminated with the life of the royal reformer. The first measure of relief secured in Prussia was the removal in 1787 of the poll-tax, and a similar step followed in the Rhineland and Bavaria; but the prevalent hostility to the Jews, from which even the poet Goethe and the philosopher Fichte were not immune, retarded the cause of enfranchisement. It was not until Napoleon broke down the feudal barriers of Central Europe that the dawn of freedom came to the long-suffering communities of Israel. Besides the emancipation of the Jews in Westphalia and the Hanseatic towns a restricted measure of liberty was given to those in Baden, whilst in the Duchy of Frankfort civil equality was granted at the price of 440,000 florins in 1811. More important still, Frederick William III of Prussia abolished the system of "protected Jews" and in 1812 conceded civil equality, modified by the exclusion of Jews from State offices. In Bavaria and Austria no rights of any kind were granted, and Jews who entered Vienna were subjected to a new poll-tax. In Saxony only a few privileged Jews were allowed in Dresden and Leipzig, and they were heavily taxed and forbidden to build a synagogue. But even the scanty liberties thus hardly wrung were lost as soon as the star of Napoleon sank. Despite the sacrifices made by the Jews in the wars for the emancipation of Prussia they were thrust back into their former servitude and were even deprived of the commissions they had won in the army. A new foe arose in the form of Christian Germanism, which wished to identify the State and nation with the dominant religion, and the historian Rühs even advocated the

restoration of the mediæval badge. At the Congress of Vienna promises were made to improve the Jewish condition, but they remained mere promises, and a worse reaction set in. The Hanse towns expelled the Jews, Frankfort (after pocketing the half-million florins) imposed restrictive laws, and then Austria too enacted special decrees, and Prussia followed suit. Tyrol and parts of Bohemia and Moravia were closed to the Jews; liberty of trade and residence in the country were hampered; and the Ghetto reappeared. The climax was reached in 1819 when a series of riots broke out against the Jews, accompanied by pillage, massacre, and expulsion, which spread from Würzburg to Copenhagen. And yet, so varied was the feeling in the country, the Grand Duchy of Hesse enfranchised its Jews in 1820, whilst from 1815 to 1847 there were twenty-one anomalous laws restricting Jewish liberty in the eight provinces of Prussia. Not until 1848, when Europe was visited by a cycle of revolutions, was the struggle for the emancipation of the Jews in Prussia, in which Gabriel Riesser, a Jewish lawyer of Hamburg, played the most prominent part, brought to a successful issue by a decree of the National Parliament at Frankfort. The Jews in Hanover and Nassau were granted equality later in the same year, but those in Würtemberg had to wait until 1861, in Baden until 1862, and in Saxony until 1868. Upon the establishment of the North German Confederation in 1869 all religious disabilities were abolished, and the principle of civil equality was extended to all parts of the German Empire upon its foundation in 1870.

The Revolution of 1848 also ushered in the emancipation of the Jews in Austria, and the first parliament that assembled in Vienna after the stirring events of that year contained five Jewish deputies. But upon the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand in the same year and the accession of Francis Joseph, a reaction set in, fomented by the clerical party. Jews were expelled from many cities; their right to hold property was cancelled; they were forbidden to keep Christian servants; they were excluded from positions as teachers in public schools; and they were prohibited to establish congregations in Lower Austria. But the defeat of Austria in the Italian war of 1859 brought her to her senses. Early in 1860 a new legislation was promulgated which conferred upon the Jews of most of the Austrian provinces the right to hold property; but it was not until the end of 1867 that the complete enfranchisement of Jewry was established both in Austria and Hungary, although it was only as late as 1896 that Juda-

ism was declared by the Parliament of Budapest to be a legally recognized religion.

The tardiness with which the States in Central Europe admitted their Jewish subjects to the full rights of citizenship also characterized the attitude of England. The position of the Jews in this country since their readmission by Oliver Cromwell was, it is true, more favourable than that of their brethren on the Continent inasmuch as they were not subjected to such degrading hardships as the poll-tax and restriction of residence ; but they suffered under a number of disabilities which cramped and crippled their civil status, and which were only gradually abolished by 1870. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they could be debarred from voting at parliamentary elections if the returning officers wished to exercise their powers ; they could be excluded from the Bar if the Inns of Court objected ; they were forbidden to trade within the City of London ; and they were shut out from Parliament, from high commissions in the army and navy, from degrees and scholarships at the University of Cambridge, and even from attendance at the University of Oxford. The battle for the removal of these disabilities began immediately after the emancipation of the Catholics in 1828, and was vigorously continued for forty years until the Jew was placed upon the same level as his Christian fellow-citizen. In 1831 the Corporation of London opened its boundaries to Jewish traders ; in 1833 the first Jew (Francis Goldsmid) was called to the Bar ; and two years later an Act was passed that relieved all voters of the necessity of taking the Oath of Abjuration and thus permitted Jewish electors to exercise the franchise. The efforts of the Jews were directed simultaneously to obtaining the right to hold municipal office and the right to sit in Parliament. They succeeded much earlier in regard to the former right by adopting the tactics of first securing the election of a Jew to office and then procuring the sanction of Parliament for an accomplished fact. Thus, in 1835, David Salomons was elected and allowed to act as Sheriff of London ; ten years later, after he had repeatedly been elected alderman, he was permitted to hold this office too ; and another ten years later, 1855, this untiring champion of Jewish rights was acclaimed Lord Mayor of London.

The acquisition of the right to sit in Parliament proved a much more stubborn and protracted process. In 1830 the first Bill for this purpose only passed a first reading in the House of Commons, and from 1833 Bill after Bill was passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords for a quarter of a century.

In 1847 the same tactics were adopted as in the campaign for securing municipal office, but although Baron Lionel de Rothschild was elected member for the City of London in that year and again in 1850, and although David Salomons was elected for Greenwich in 1851 and actually spoke in the House, it was not until July 26, 1858, that the former was able, as the first Jew, to take his seat in the House of Commons by virtue of a resolution to permit Jewish members to omit the words "on the true faith of a Christian" from the oath. In 1870 the University Tests Act enabled Jews to graduate and hold scholarships at the ancient universities; and in 1885, Sir Nathaniel Rothschild, a son of Baron Lionel de Rothschild, was made a peer, and, as Lord Rothschild, was the first Jew to sit in the House of Lords. Not until 1890, however, was it formally established that all positions in the British Empire, with the sole exception of that of monarch, are open to Jews.<sup>1</sup>

It is not a little curious that England was the last of English-speaking countries to enfranchise its Jews, but the distinction of being the first country in the world to endow its Jewish subjects with the full rights of citizenship likewise belongs to a state of English origin, namely, the United States of America, the Constitution of which, adopted in 1787, declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any public office or public trust." This law of equality was promptly adopted by all the Federal States, with the exception of Maryland, where civil rights were not secured until 1820. In Canada these rights were granted in 1832, after an agitation of twenty-five years following the election of a Jew (Ezekiel Hart) to Parliament, which was declared invalid; in South Africa, in the colonization of which Jews have played a notable part as pioneers, complete equality has prevailed since 1820; and in Australia, which Jews have likewise helped to develop, they have enjoyed equality since their settlement.

There remain but a few other countries that claim attention. In Belgium the Jews acquired emancipation in 1815, under the influence of the French Revolution; in Denmark they were granted equality by the Constitution of 1849; in Norway they have enjoyed equality since 1851, when a law forbidding their residence in the country was repealed; in Sweden they were given the franchise in 1865 and the right of election to Parliament in 1870, but they are still excluded from the Council of State and the Ministry; and in Switzerland the Federal Government, under outside pressure, decreed the

<sup>1</sup> A. M. Hyamson, *A History of the Jews in England*, pp. 333-334.

enfranchisement of all its citizens in 1865. Spain, in 1858, repealed its edict of expulsion of more than three and a half centuries before, and has shown a touching interest in the return of the Jews to its borders, whilst Portugal enacted freedom of religion as early as 1825. The Jews of Algeria were made French citizens at a single stroke by a decree of Crémieux in 1870. The Treaty of Berlin in 1878 brought the Jews of Bulgaria and Servia their civil emancipation, and the Turkish Constitution of 1908 conferred equality upon all the Jewish subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

## CHAPTER II

### THE EMANCIPATION OF EASTERN JEWRY

Pre-War conditions in Russia and Rumania—Representations of Jewish delegations to the Peace Conference concerning the Jews in Eastern Europe—Minorities Treaty with Poland: its provisions in general and those regarding the Jews—Minorities Treaty with Rumania—Infractions of Treaties—The *Staatenlose* and *Numerus clausus* in Poland and Rumania—The *Numerus clausus* in Hungary—Infractions in Lithuania and Greece—Inadequate safeguards of League of Nations procedure—Abrogation of Jewish minority rights in Turkey—Need of Permanent Minorities Commission—Conditions in Soviet Russia—Pogroms in the Ukraine—Persecution of Judaism and Zionism—Jewish Soviets—Conditions in Persia and the Yemen.

IT is a significant commentary upon the development of modern civilization that until the outbreak of the Great War one-half of the Jewish people, who had always been among the most ardent apostles of freedom, were still condemned to a state of bondage. Over six million Jews, settled in Russia and Rumania, were subjected to a vindictive system of intolerance and ill-treatment, which, by reason of the vaunted culture of their rulers, was even more remarkable than the persecution to which the Jews were exposed in certain Oriental countries, such as Morocco, Persia, and the Yemen, and which bore every appearance of a permanent and immutable policy.

In Russia the sufferings of the Jews were inflicted by means of a multiplicity of laws, which were enacted over a period of two centuries. This draconian code confined them within a Pale of Settlement, restricted them in the choice of occupation, thwarted their desire for education, limited their right to own property, excluded them from State and municipal employment, and imposed galling burdens upon them in regard to military service, whilst, in addition to all this, the hostility of Government and populace found vent in constant chicanery and recurring pogroms. The Jews raised many a cry of despair and many a call for help; but the Western Powers, even had they wished to intervene, had no right to do so, whilst the formation of the Triple Entente in 1907, whereby Russia became the ally of Great Britain and France, rendered any remonstrance



on the part of these countries even less likely than before. As for Rumania, she had indeed undertaken, according to the Berlin Treaty of 1878, which established her independence, that difference of religious belief should not preclude anybody from the enjoyment of civil and political rights, and the Powers had innocently accepted this formula to mean that the Jews, who had been settled in Rumania for fifteen hundred years, would be emancipated forthwith. But Rumania cynically extricated herself from her obligation by declaring all her Jews to be foreigners, who could acquire the status of citizens only by virtue of the laws pertaining to naturalization. The Jews were thus cheated of the rights which the Treaty was designed to secure them, for only a paltry number of them were naturalized by Parliament each year, and their position continued worse than that of other foreigners as they did not enjoy the protection of any State. The signatory Powers had indeed the right of intervention, but as some of them, particularly Russia and Germany, declined to make use of it (since their record in regard to the treatment of their own Jews was not unblemished), no serious attempt to improve the position of the Jews was possible until after the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. The leading Jewish representative organizations of Europe and America then took concerted steps to induce the Great Powers not to recognize the territorial changes that had resulted in favour of Rumania unless and until she purged her fault and solemnly pledged herself to emancipate her Jewish subjects. But up to the outbreak of the Great War the Powers were not called upon to ratify those changes, and thus the Jews were denied the rights of citizenship as before, though rigorously required to fulfil all its duties.

The opportunity for which the Jewish people had waited so long came with the end of the War. The bitter struggle had been waged, according to the professions of both sides, in furtherance of the principles of liberty and justice, and it was therefore but right that the Jews, who had played their part in it as bravely and loyally as their fellow-citizens in every country, should be allowed to enjoy some of its fruits. So far as they were the subjects of the various States engaged in the War they shared in their respective fortunes, but they had their own specific grievances which called for redress and could no longer be overlooked. Accordingly delegations proceeded not only from Western countries, particularly Great Britain and the United States, but also from Eastern Europe, to Paris for the purpose of deliberating on the demands to be submitted

to the Peace Conference. Their aim was twofold : to secure civil and political equality for those Jews who were not yet emancipated, as well as—in consequence of the creation of new States and the alteration of the frontiers of old ones—to safeguard the rights of those Jews who might be transferred from the jurisdiction of one State to that of another. Their long and painful experience had taught them that no faith could be placed in mere promises, and that any formulæ with which it might be proposed to solve Jewish questions must be subjected to the most searching and minute examination. They were resolved, in particular, that the trickery of Rumania should at length be brought to an end, and that it should be made an essential condition of the recognition of every new State that it should formally undertake to grant its Jewish subjects complete equality. One-half of the Jews in Russia—those living in that part which later constituted itself as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—had, indeed, already been emancipated by the Revolution in 1917, but the other half settled in the territories that went to form the republics of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland were at the mercy of elements which, so far as they were known, were scarcely encouraging. Poland, for instance, had inaugurated her new epoch of independence by an outburst of attacks and excesses against the Jews in a hundred and fifty towns and townlets,<sup>1</sup> which showed how necessary it was from the very beginning not only to define the sovereign rights of the Polish State, but also to guarantee the rights of its Jewish subjects.

The Jewish delegations in Paris were not content that the Jews in the States with which Treaties were to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers should be granted merely civil and political equality : this was a fundamental principle which the Powers might have been trusted to impose without any external pleading. What they wished to achieve was that the equality conferred upon the Jews in Eastern Europe should not be limited or nullified later by administrative caprice or ordinance, and above all that, belonging for the most part, as those Jews did, to the orthodox or nationally conscious camp in Jewry, they should be allowed to live their traditional life and to maintain their social, religious, and cultural institutions free from interference. The delegations from Eastern Europe even advocated a form of Jewish national autonomy, under the authority of the State, suggested by the system of

<sup>1</sup> See the Author's *Report on the Pogroms in Poland* (Zionist Organization, London, 1919).

self-government which the Jewish communities in Poland and Lithuania had enjoyed from the middle of the sixteenth to that of the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> but the delegations from Western Europe were opposed to any demand that might imply their recognition of a Jewish nationality. Both groups of delegations, however, were agreed upon a series of postulates that were accepted by the Peace Conference as calculated to safeguard the rights not only of the Jews, but also of the other racial and religious minorities in the States with which it had to deal.

The first Minorities Treaty, affecting the lives of three million Jews, the largest Jewish community in any European country, was that concluded with Poland. It declared to be Polish nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationals habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the Treaty in territory recognized as forming part of Poland. The main provisions of the Treaty are: that all Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion; that those who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall be free to use their language in private or public, including the courts; that they shall have an equal right to establish and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein; and that in towns and districts in which they form a considerable proportion instruction shall be given to their children in the primary schools through the medium of their own language, and they shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budget for educational, religious, or charitable purposes. These provisions are applicable to all racial and religious minorities in Poland, who number 13 millions in a total population of 27 millions, and do not contain any specific reference to the Jews. But there are two Articles, 10 and 11, which were specially included in order to safeguard the interests of the Jews. Article 10 states that "educational committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools." Article 11

<sup>1</sup> "The Synod of the Four Countries" (see Graetz's *History of the Jews*, Vol. IV, p. 685.)

provides that "Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath," but this does not exempt them from such obligations as may be "imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defence, or the preservation of public order." Moreover, Poland declared "her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday," and from insisting on registration for electoral or other purposes being performed on a Saturday. The inclusion of these two Articles in the Treaty with Poland was justified, on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, by M. Clemenceau in the historic letter that he addressed to M. Paderewski, the Polish plenipotentiary, in the following terms :

The information at the disposal of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as to the existing relations between the Jews and the other Polish citizens has led them to the conclusion that, in view of the historical development of the Jewish question and the great animosity aroused by it, special protection is necessary for the Jews in Poland. These clauses have been limited to the minimum which seems necessary under the circumstances of the present day, viz. the maintenance of Jewish schools and the protection of the Jews in the religious observance of their Sabbath. It is believed that these stipulations will not create any obstacle to the political unity of Poland. They do not constitute any recognition of the Jews as a separate political community within the Polish State.

As a corollary to the religious observance of the Saturday Sabbath, the Jewish delegations urged the inclusion in the Treaty of a clause permitting the Jews to engage in Sunday trading and labour, pointing out that this would only confirm a right that had been enjoyed by the Jews in Poland even under the Russian domination, and that if this right were not confirmed the Poles would probably enact a law prohibiting Sunday trading as a measure of economic oppression of the Jews. But the Allied and Associated Powers were reluctant to impose upon another State an obligation that was only imperfectly realized in their own legislation. In order to ensure the strict observance of the stipulation affecting persons belonging to minorities, there was included a final Article declaring that these

stipulations "constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations," and that "they shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations."

The Treaty signed by Poland on June 28, 1919, formed, with the exception of the two clauses relating to the maintenance of Jewish schools and the observance of the Sabbath, the type of the Minorities Treaties signed by several other States, viz. Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Dantzic, Greece, Turkey, and Mosul. The Treaty with Rumania finally swept aside the verbal quibbles by means of which the Jews had been denied their rights so long. It declared that "all persons born in Rumanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Rumanian nationals," a stipulation applying both to the new territories annexed to the country as well as to the whole of Old Rumania; and in order not to allow any doubt to be raised as to whether the Jews were also included, and perhaps to prevent the passing of a law declaring them to be excluded, there was inserted a special Article, in concise and unambiguous terms: "Rumania undertakes to recognize as Rumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory who do not possess another nationality." Moreover, there were four newly created States, namely, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which, though they did not subscribe to Minorities Treaties, gave solemn declarations that they agreed to the principles of these compacts, whilst Dantzic and Mosul were brought within the same system by instructions given by the League of Nations to its representatives in those cities, to watch over the interests of the Minorities.

The signing of these various Treaties and the securing of these declarations were no easy task: on the contrary, the States with the largest Jewish communities, such as Poland and Rumania, displayed a very stubborn resistance to guaranteeing their Jewish subjects the elementary rights of citizenship. But once the Treaties were concluded it was hoped that the Jews would enjoy the same rights and the same economic opportunities as their fellow-citizens, and that a friendly understanding would soon prevail between them. Unfortunately this hope has proved illusory, for scarcely had the ink of the signatures become dry before various provisions of the Treaties were violated in certain countries, with the result

that a persistent struggle has had to be waged ever since both by the Jewish communities concerned (mainly through their representatives in the respective Parliaments) as well as by the Jewish representative organizations of the Western world, in order to secure compliance on the part of the defaulting States with their obligations. The principal countries in which such infractions have occurred are Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Lithuania, and Greece.

The main questions in respect of which Poland has violated her pledges are those relating to the acquisition of citizenship, admission to the universities, and the financial support of Jewish schools. Although she undertook to declare as Polish citizens "*ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationals habitually resident . . . in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland," she passed a law on January 20, 1920, which made the acquisition of citizenship subject to certain formalities of an administrative nature with which in very numerous cases it was impossible to comply. The law required that those claiming Polish citizenship should show that their names were inscribed in local registers of the stable population or submit proof of their *Heimatsrecht*, a status of citizenship dependent upon several years' continuous residence in the same commune—a Teutonic conception that is now obsolete in Germany itself and maintained only in Austria and Hungary. Owing to the impossibility of conforming with these regulations, many thousands of Jews (besides large numbers belonging to other national minorities) were denied Polish citizenship and became *Staatenlos*. This condition was a sufficient hardship if they remained in the country, but it increased in gravity if they wished to emigrate, as the Nansen passports which they were given were not provided with an endorsement enabling them to return, and most States refused to *viser* such passports since they would be unable to deport their holders, if necessary, to their country of origin. The Jewish members of the Sejm repeatedly demanded that the Polish Government should abolish the restrictions which it had imposed, but it was not until August, 1926, that it issued a circular instruction to the local administrative authorities to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship. A considerable improvement in the situation has since resulted, but there are still some 15,000 Jews in Poland who are *Staatenlos*—with all the galling disabilities attaching to such a condition.

The admission of Jewish students to the universities in Poland is restricted to a proportion corresponding roughly to the Jewish ratio of the population. It is true that there is no law imposing a *numerus clausus*, as a Bill drafted by the Government in 1923 was not submitted to the Sejm in consequence of the protests of various international bodies ; it is also true that the circular issued by the Education Minister, Glombinski, allowing percentage restrictions, has been withdrawn ; but the universities, in the exercise of their traditional autonomy, continue to limit the entry of Jews, and the Government cannot or will not take effective steps to suppress this injustice. The *numerus clausus*, however, is only one phase of the war that is conducted against the Jewish intellectual class, whose influence is unnecessarily feared. Although forming only 12 per cent of the population of Poland, the Jews, belonging mainly to the industrial and commercial element, which is assessed abnormally heavily, are estimated to pay more than one-half of the direct taxation received by the State, yet the Government will not find them employment in its service (with some rare exceptions) nor grant to Jewish schools the subvention that it is obliged to provide. Besides, Jewish schools using Hebrew or Yiddish as the medium of instruction are degraded to the level of private institutions and denied the rights exercised by the Polish schools of public rank. Nor is this policy of repression directed solely against the intellectual class. As was feared at the time when Poland signed her Minorities Treaty, she passed a law at the end of 1919 for compulsory Sunday closing, which was conceived as an act of economic oppression, and which has inflicted grave hardship upon Jewish employers and employed, who mostly observe their Sabbath. In consequence of their having to rest two days a week (or nearly two and a half days in winter, when the Sabbath begins on Friday afternoon), as well as on the numerous Jewish as well as Christian holy days, they are compelled to be idle 137 days or over one-third of the year—a crushing handicap in a country suffering from economic depression. The Jewish deputies in the Sejm have persistently demanded that the Government should relax the law in favour of those who observe the Jewish Sabbath and festivals, but although certain concessions have been made, the question has not yet been satisfactorily settled. The economic position of the Jews is further threatened by the law for the transfer of liquor licences to war veterans, which will mean their withdrawal from many thousands of Jews, who will thus be

impoverished, and also by the projected Guild law, which require artisans to undergo a course of training in vocational schools, access to which will be limited in the case of Jewish workers. Both of these enactments are infractions of the Minorities Treaty, in the spirit if not the letter; various other breaches, of major or minor gravity, have also been committed; and the old Russian and Austrian laws limiting the rights of the Jews have not been revoked.

In Rumania the principal infractions are likewise in respect of the conferment of citizenship and admission to the universities, whilst even more serious has been the campaign of assault upon the Jews continued almost uninterruptedly for the last six years. A Nationality Law was passed on February 23, 1924, which is similar in principle to the Polish Nationality Law, as it makes the acquisition of citizenship subject to the possession of the *Heimatsrecht*. But it has imposed a twofold restriction, first, in substituting the *Heimatsrecht* or *indigénat* for habitual residence, and, secondly, in making that qualification date from December 1, 1918, instead of September 4, 1920, when the Treaty signed by Rumania came into force. Those excluded from citizenship by the registration authorities have the right of recourse to Appeal Commissions, and, on the other hand, those upon whom civic rights are conferred are liable to lose them upon the protest of a third party. The result of this Treaty violation and of the tantalizing procedure for seeking redress is that in the Bukovina there are still 20,000 Jews who are *Staatenlos*, besides many thousands in Bessarabia and Transylvania. The position of a "Stateless" person in Rumania is even more depressing than in Poland, for if he wishes to emigrate, not only is he denied the endorsement in his passport that will enable him to return, but as the holder of such a passport he forfeits all claims to Rumanian citizenship and ownership of rural property from the moment that he leaves the country.

There is no *numerus clausus* in Rumania by law, but there is one in practice. The admission of Jewish students to the universities is restricted by the university authorities to a small percentage, whilst from time to time the Rumanian students run amuck, drive out the Jews from the college buildings, and thus create a *numerus nullus*. The agitation for the exclusion of the Jews has been fanatically fostered by Professor Cuza, of Jassy, who has poisoned the minds of the academic youth of his country, and it has been accompanied by violent demonstrations in Bucharest, Jassy, Czernowitz,



Kishineff, Oradea Mare, and other cities, resulting in the frequent closing of the universities. The anti-Semitic students have indulged in repeated assaults not only upon Jewish students but upon the Jews in general, destroying property, wounding innocent onlookers, and even throwing Jewish passengers out of trains. The agitation has already cost two lives—that of the Prefect of Jassy, Manciu, who tried to suppress a demonstration and was shot dead in court by a Rumanian student, and that of David Fallik, a Jewish student of Czerowitz, who was also shot in court by a Rumanian student. Both assassins were tried, acquitted as patriots, and then acclaimed as national heroes. The immunity of these murderers from punishment and the general insecurity of Jewish lives and property constitute an even graver breach of the provisions of the Minorities Treaty than the practical enforcement of the *numerus clausus*.

Only in Hungary is there actually a law that subjects citizens belonging to national minorities to differential treatment in regard to their number who may be admitted to the universities or other academic institutions. The law, which was passed in September, 1920, has been applied solely against the Jews, who have been limited to 6 per cent of the total number of students. It constitutes a flagrant infraction of the Treaty of Trianon signed by Hungary, which provides that all Hungarian citizens are entitled to the same civil and political rights, without distinction as to race, language, or religion. The attention of the League of Nations was promptly called to the matter by Jewish representative bodies, who protested against Hungary being admitted to membership of the League until she rescinded the obnoxious law. The Hungarian delegate, Count Banffy, gave a solemn assurance in September, 1922, that his country would faithfully observe her obligations in respect of the treatment of racial minorities, and Hungary was accordingly welcomed into the League. But as the law continued to be enforced the Jewish organizations renewed their protests and demanded that the validity of the enactment should be examined by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The Council of the League of Nations considered the question in 1925, together with observations from the Hungarian Government, and upon a declaration being given by its representative, Count Klebelsberg, that the measure was only temporary, introduced owing to the abnormal post-war situation of the country, and that it would be amended directly the position improved, the Council decided to take

note of these assurances and to await the amendment of the law in the near future. At length, in February, 1928, the Hungarian Government amended the law by abolishing the Article that refers to nationality and replacing it by another Article, which provides that preference shall be given in admissions to the universities to the sons of Government officials, war veterans, peasants, and those engaged in trade. It is thus possible to continue practising the same discrimination against Jewish students in the future by virtue of this economic classification. Indeed, Count Klebelsberg has made no secret of the fact that this amendment is designed mainly to satisfy or pacify the League of Nations and that the admission of Jews to the universities is not likely to be increased by more than one-half per cent.

Lithuania began her new career of independence by giving the Jews a model system of national autonomy, with a Ministry of Jewish Affairs supported by the State, but this ideal arrangement was soon swept away by a change of Government, bringing in its train an era of intolerance that gravely affects many phases of Jewish life in the country. An attempt to interfere with the use of Hebrew and Yiddish and with the autonomy of the Jewish schools was checked by the League of Nations, but a Sunday-closing law was adopted, which has weakened the economic position of the Jews, and against which they have no redress. Moreover, the Government has dissolved the organized Jewish communities and insisted that they shall be replaced by purely religious congregations on a voluntary basis, deprived of the fiscal rights which the communities possessed. As for Greece, the most serious grievance felt by the Jews is that which affects the ancient community in Salonica. For hundreds of years they had formed the largest national group in that city, rested on Saturday, and were allowed to trade on Sunday. But with the influx of vast numbers of Greeks after the Great War, the Jews became a small minority, and a Sunday-closing law was enacted in 1924 for all the inhabitants of the city, obviously as a measure of economic protection for the majority. This law was a violation of the pledges given by M. Venizelos in 1919, but unfortunately the terms of the Greek Treaty afford no basis of redress.

The various Treaty infractions described above have formed the subject not only of representations by the Jewish communities concerned to their respective Governments, but also of communications addressed by Jewish representative

organizations to the League of Nations, but the slow and excessively circumspect procedure that has to be observed has so far prevented the necessary amelioration. When a petition is addressed by a national minority or an international association to the League, it is examined by the Secretariat to ascertain whether it fulfils the conditions laid down by the Council of the League as governing petitions, and whether it shall be dealt with under the ordinary minorities procedure. If it is considered "receivable," it is communicated to the interested Government for observations and, together with any observations received, is circulated to all the Members of the Council for information, but to them only. The President thereupon calls upon two of his colleagues to examine the documents with him in Committee. This Minorities Committee does not inform the petitioners of the contents of the observations of the Government concerned, nor enter into any discussion with them, as the petitioner is not considered a party to a lawsuit between himself and the Government, but merely as a source of information. The Committee may decide either to refer the question to the Council, in which case the petitioners will have the same opportunity as the general public of seeing the Committee's report and all the documents, including the observations of the Government concerned, or not to refer the question to the Council. If the question is considered by the Council and the petitioner is not satisfied with the result, he may demand that it shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and then the Government impeached is invited to submit further observations, which are considered by the Committee of Three, who report to the Council, whereupon the Government, brought to bay at last, may declare that it will make the required amends, and if the declaration is accepted, the dispute is regarded as settled.

¶ This dilatory mode of procedure has proved most unsatisfactory and has had the effect of exacerbating the very evils which it was intended to scotch. It has been tried and found wanting in the flagrant case of the *numerus clausus* law in Hungary. The procedure for dealing with defaulting Governments must be thoroughly revised and strengthened if the Minorities Treaties are not to be violated with impunity. It is not enough that the Secretariat of the League of Nations is authorized to act only when it receives a petition from an aggrieved minority. The duty of the League to ascertain that the provisions for the protection of minorities are always observed should be construed as authorizing the Secretariat

to report to the Council any infractions of Treaties that it may discover through the medium of its own channels of information. Minorities should be allowed to have access to the Council for the purpose of submitting not only concrete cases of infraction, but any questions that may be argued as involving the credit of the Treaties. And, furthermore, petitioning minorities should be immediately informed of the answers made to their complaints, in order to prevent a miscarriage of justice. But what is even more important is that there should be a Permanent Commission, which should watch over the national minorities in the same way as the Permanent Mandates Commission looks after the mandated territories. At present Governments that are in default in respect of their obligations under the Minorities Treaties, such as Poland and Rumania, sit on the Council that discusses the petitions brought against them. If there were a Permanent Commission, acting as a judicial body (as contemplated in the memorable letter addressed by Clemenceau in 1919 to the Polish Plenipotentiary) and devoted entirely and constantly to safeguarding the interests of minorities, it may be presumed that it would not be possible for a defendant to act simultaneously as a colleague of his own judges.

The weakness of the machinery for ensuring the just treatment of the minorities has been strikingly illustrated in the case of Turkey, who, by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, undertook to recognize as fundamental laws a series of obligations in regard to her minorities. In the autumn of 1925 the Chief Rabbi of Constantinople notified the Government of "the decision of the Jews of Turkey" not to claim the status and rights of a minority, and of their desire to be regarded as part of the Turkish population. On August 1, 1926, this step was confirmed by twenty "notables" of the Sephardic community of Constantinople, who met and adopted a resolution (recommended by a committee of thirteen) renouncing, on behalf of the Jews of Turkey, "all national minority rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Lausanne." The resolution requested the Turkish Government "to issue such ordinances as would regulate the administration of the affairs of the Jewish community and the maintenance of its scholastic, charitable, and educational institutions, as well as to indicate the means of assuring the existence of these institutions by lending them moral and material support." The explanation offered in defence of this remarkable proceeding was that as Turkey had decided to apply the Swiss code, which recognizes the equality of all citizens irrespective of race or creed, and as the draft of

a Bill on the status of the Jewish minority in Turkey contained guarantees of Jewish rights, there was no necessity for the rights conferred upon the Jews in the Minorities Treaties. Neither the Chief Rabbi nor the "notables" of the Sephardic community, whatever their motive, had any right to barter away the guarantees for the protection of the Jewish people in Turkey, whom they could not consult and from whom they received no mandate. The action of the Turkish Government in bringing about the renunciation of those guarantees constitutes a violation of international law. If there were a Permanent Minorities Commission, invested with the requisite authority, it would presumably be possessed of sufficient courage and energy to take effective steps to have this illegality rescinded. But without such a body, the Council of the League of Nations has not so much as taken note of this extraordinary act, which may be fraught with perilous consequences in the future. Until, therefore, the League of Nations creates an independent judicial body, which shall be at once mobile and resolute, for the protection of the minorities, the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe will be largely dependent upon the goodwill and sense of honour of their own Governments in regard to their treatment under the Minorities Treaties, and as some of the more important of those Governments are influenced by anti-Semitic considerations, the fate of their Jewish subjects is bound to be a source of anxiety for years to come.

Turning now to Soviet Russia, we find that the Jews, as observed above, were emancipated by the Revolution of March, 1917, and confirmed in their political equality by the Bolshevik Revolution of the following October. But their enfranchisement, which, in comparison with their previous bondage, would have appeared an event of fundamental and far-reaching significance, has been overshadowed by the gloom of a vast tragedy, transcending all previous calamities in the history of Russian Jewry, whilst its importance has been substantially reduced by reason of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" under which they live. For the first few months after the overthrow of the Tsardom, the Jews in the Ukraine—forming the great bulk of Russian Jewry—enjoyed a brief spell of autonomy under the provisional government of the country, but the Ministry of Jewish Affairs which was established, owing to internal differences, came to an early end. The failure of this experiment in Jewish autonomy, however, was of little account beside the collapse of the Ukrainian Government or

Directory itself, for this was followed by a cyclone of anti-Jewish pogroms, which, in point of magnitude, duration, ferocity, and destructiveness, greatly surpassed all massacres known in Jewish history. These outrages were committed for the most part by the troops of the Directory, which were under the command of General Petlura, in consequence of their defeat by the Bolsheviks, who had risen against the Government. They were ostensibly acts of reprisal against the Jewish population for sympathizing with Communism, of which they were falsely accused; but numerous excesses were also committed by Soviet regiments and by the "White" troops of General Denikin, as well as by Polish troops of occupation in White Russia—these mutually warring forces being all agreed upon one thing only, that the Jews should be killed.

The avalanche of blood that swept across the Ukraine from the end of 1918 to the end of 1920, and across White Russia from the middle of 1919 to the middle of 1921—the very period in which the Peace Conference was most busily engaged in restoring order and tranquillity to Europe—left hardly a single Jewish community untouched. According to an estimate made by the Red Cross Society of Kieff in September, 1919, 30,000 persons were definitely ascertained to have been killed in pogroms that took place in 372 places, apart from large numbers who had perished in various ways; but later and more comprehensive investigations showed that there had been nearly 900 pogroms, in which at least over 100,000 Jews had been massacred. These butcheries were perpetrated with the most fiendish torture, and were characterized by the most revolting features, neither old nor young being spared, and women and girls being generally outraged before being murdered. In some towns there were four, five, and even ten pogroms in succession, as though to make sure that not a single Jew were left alive, whilst in addition to all this wholesale slaughter, which left tens of thousands of survivors maimed and crippled, there was widespread destruction of houses, looting of property, and desecration and demolition of synagogues.<sup>1</sup> The physical, mental, and moral effects of this devastating catastrophe remain, though with some of their maleficent vigour abated, to the present day.

The civil rights acquired by the Jews in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are of the same nebulous character as those

<sup>1</sup> See *The Pogroms in the Ukraine*, published by the Committee of Jewish Delegations (John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., 1927).

enjoyed by the rest of the population. But although there is no political nor any other discrimination against the Jews, they are in much worse case religiously than they were under the Tsar, for Judaism has been subjected to systematic and relentless persecution in accordance with the settled anti-religious policy of the Government. Synagogues have been confiscated and turned into barracks or workmen's clubs, Talmudical colleges have been closed, the teaching of Hebrew and of the Jewish religion is forbidden, the rite of circumcision is a penal offence, and the printing of Hebrew books has been stopped. The crusade against Judaism—as against other religions—was at its fiercest in 1923, but though it has since abated the prohibitions are still enforced, supplemented by seductive propaganda. The hostility of the Soviet Government is directed particularly against Zionism, which is proscribed as a reactionary and counter-revolutionary movement and as an alleged instrument of British Imperialism. Zionists are tracked down like enemies of the State, and clapped into gaol, or banished to remote and inclement regions, where many have died of their sufferings. It is therefore not surprising that many Jews would prefer to exchange the "freedom" of the Bolshevik system for the restrictions under the Tsardom.

On the other hand, the Government has allowed the Jews in localities in which they form a majority of the population to form their own Soviets, with Yiddish as the official language in schools and courts, and at the beginning of 1927 there were already 150 such Jewish Soviets, of which 130 were in the Ukraine alone. The motives prompting this apparent generosity may be sought partly in the desire to offer the Jews some compensation for the repression of their religious life, and partly in the wish to deflect Jewish national aspirations from Palestine to self-governing communities in the Ukraine. A further reason doubtless lies in the fact that the autonomous republics, as was declared at the Congress of National Minorities in 1925 at Moscow, have limited the rights of the national minorities living among them, in discriminating against them in respect of representation on legislative and administrative bodies, and as most of the minorities form a majority in some districts, with the administrative advantages attaching thereto, it was thought only right that the Jews should likewise be allowed to manage local affairs where they are in the majority. The preference given to Yiddish over Hebrew as the national language is due to the ideology of the Jewish Section of the Communist Party, who are the *de facto* controllers of the internal

life of Russian Jewry, over which they wield a petty tyranny, and who maintain the supremacy of Yiddish, the mother tongue of the Jewish masses, over what they stigmatize as the language of clericalism. But although possessed of political equality, the Jews, in consequence of the destruction of the capitalist system and the suppression of private trade, have been economically brought near to ruin. The Government accordingly decided, in 1925, to come to their aid by undertaking to settle a number of them on the land in the Crimea, Ukraine, and White Russia (with the financial support of foreign Jewish organizations), an action to which it was also doubtless prompted by the desire to provide a counter-attraction to Zionism. What measure of success may attend this movement remains yet to be seen.

Unfortunately there are lands in which the Jews have not yet obtained even the qualified emancipation prevailing in Eastern Europe, and where they are still subjected to oppression and every form of petty indignity. These countries are Persia and the Yemen. In Persia, despite the constitutional form of government that has succeeded the traditional despotism, the position of the Jews is little better than it was in the days of Mordecai and Esther. According to law the only discrimination against them is in regard to Government positions, for which they are disqualified, but in practice they are a prey to systematic persecution on the part of the administrative officials and the fanatical *ulemas* (priests), and to violent attacks by the mob. The Jews are regarded by their Moslem neighbours as ritually unclean, and have consequently come to look upon themselves as inferior and degraded. In many towns they are obliged to pay a special tax for observing an alien religion. Any trivial offence that an individual Jew may commit is treated as a heinous crime on the part of the entire community and punished as such, whilst, on the other hand, the murder of a Jew is never expiated by anything more drastic than imprisonment for a few months or a few years. Any Jew adopting Mohammedanism is entitled to take possession of the entire property of his family, who have no redress against such misappropriation. And in addition to these various disabilities and sufferings, the Jews in the sacred city of Meshed have been obliged for over eighty years to live the lives of Marannos, outwardly conforming with the requirements of Islam but secretly following the rites and tenets of Judaism.<sup>1</sup> As for their brethren in the Yemen, they are con-

<sup>1</sup> See the author's *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller*, pp. 262-265.



fined to Ghettos, subjected to exacting extortions under the guise of taxation, compelled to wear a distinctive dress, and even denied the right of leaving the country unless they are poor, a prohibition that the rich Jew may infringe only at the risk of the confiscation of his property. Orphans are forcibly taken away from their homes and converted to Islam. Moreover, the Jews are not allowed to bring any teachers or doctors into the country to improve their intellectual or physical condition, and all attempts from without to ameliorate their lot of helpless degradation have, owing to the hostility of the Imam, proved in vain.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See article by Dr. Wolfgang von Weisl in *The New Palestine* (New York), April 12, 1929.

## CHAPTER III

### POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND STATE SERVICE

The safeguarding of Jewish interests—Relations with parties in England and America—Complex conditions in Central Europe—Jewish political conditions in Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia—Membership of Parliaments and of Cabinets—The diplomatic and civil service—Municipal activity and civic honours—Defending the fatherland—Participation in the Great War—Prominence in Socialism—Jewish Socialist parties—Activity in Soviet Russia.

THE activity of the Jews in the political world has considerably increased since the termination of the Great War in consequence of the enlargement of the area in which they enjoy civil equality. Before the War it was only the Jews in the Western lands of freedom who engaged in the normal political life of their country, whilst their brethren in the Eastern lands of bondage—Russian and Rumania—devoted all their energies to the struggle for equal rights. But although all the Jews in the world, with the comparatively trifling exceptions of two or three Oriental dominions, are now possessed, at least theoretically, of the same rights as their non-Jewish neighbours, there is still a notable difference in the nature of their political activity. This arises inevitably out of the diversity of their political situation, the product of the various post-War settlements, as well as out of the specific characteristics of their respective countries. Wherever the Jews were full-fledged citizens before the War, and where there is no Jewish issue of supreme and vital significance, they may be found in most of the political parties without distinction. But even in such countries there are, from time to time, important questions in regard to which they are constrained to take action as Jews, namely, in cases where there is a conflict between the loyalty due to the tenets of their religion and the effects of proposed or adopted legislation, or where the sanctity of asylum, which they prize so highly in the interests of their brethren living in less tolerant lands, is violated or threatened.

The principal questions in regard to which Jews are influenced less by party considerations than by religious motives or racial solidarity are the Sunday closing of shops

and workshops, the conditions of elementary education, the ritual slaughter of animals for food, naturalization, and the regulation of alien immigration. To safeguard their interests in these and kindred matters the Jews in Great Britain are represented by the Board of Deputies, which was founded in London as far back as 1760; their brethren in the United States by the American Jewish Committee, which was incorporated in New York in 1911; and those in the Union of South Africa by a Board of Deputies founded in 1912 and situated in Johannesburg. The Jews in Austria are represented by the "Österreichisch-Israelitische Union," founded in Vienna in 1884, whilst their brethren in Germany have a general organization, the "Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens," established in 1893, whose sphere of activity extends over the whole Republic, as well as separate Unions of Jewish communities (Gemeinde-Verbände) in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hesse, and Anhalt. The task of these various bodies consists in making representations when necessary to the Government authorities, and in repelling any attacks and accusations, but it in no wise conflicts with any of the interests of the country at large.

Apart from questions affecting specifically Jewish interests, Jews are found numerously represented in all political parties and movements of the countries in which they dwell. In Great Britain, although there was a traditional attachment for a time to the Liberal party as the main author of their political emancipation, the Jewish element in that party is probably no stronger now than in that of the Conservatives, whilst the Labour Party also has a considerable Jewish following. Similarly, both the Democratic and the Republican parties in the United States, and the various sections of each, embrace hosts of Jews in their ranks. At election times in England, as well as in America, one occasionally hears of "the Jewish vote" in constituencies with a large Jewish electorate, as though this were an organized force; but unless there is some vital question affecting the Jewish community at stake, Jews vote solely according to their political convictions, even if one of the candidates is a Jew, and take an active share in the campaign of the various parties to which they belong. There is, however, no lack of endeavour on the part of parliamentary candidates to secure the suffrages of the Jewish community, and it is no infrequent phenomenon for opposing candidates in a constituency with a considerable Jewish electorate to make the very same promises in furtherance of their prospects.

Thus, both Republicans and Democrats in the United States advocated the termination of America's commercial treaty with Tsarist Russia as a rejoinder to the latter's refusal to allow the free entry of American Jews into her dominions, and in England members of all three parties have repeatedly pledged their support to the policy of the Balfour Declaration. The passing of the Aliens Act in 1905 by the Conservative Government, which set up a barrier to the admission of Jewish refugees at a time when Russia was reeking with pogroms, naturally drove a great number of Jewish voters to support the Liberal Party in the memorable election of 1906; but with the lapse of time the political sympathies of the Jews have again assumed their purely party tendency.

Far different are the conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, where the Jews are repeatedly exposed to attacks from Chauvinist and clerical quarters, as part of the reaction after the War, and have to carry on in various countries a persistent struggle to render the civil equality, which is theirs by virtue of the constitution, a political reality. In the lands in which they enjoyed political rights before 1914, such as Germany, Austria, and Hungary, they are naturally found in the ranks of the Democrats or the Socialists. The anti-Semitic feeling is, if anything, more virulent than it was before the War, for the reactionary forces have found it convenient to make the Jews responsible for the defeat of the Central Powers and have conducted a ceaseless crusade against them for the last ten years, which has claimed many Jewish victims, notably the brilliant Walter Rathenau; but apart from the *numerous clausus* law enacted by Hungary there is no anti-Jewish discrimination in these countries based on legislation. Germany, indeed, owes her Republican constitution to the authorship of a Jew, Hugo Preuss, and has swept away the narrow-minded restrictions that formerly prevented a Jew from holding an ordinary professorship at a university or being appointed an officer of the reserve. In Austria, owing to the absence of a middle-class party free from anti-Jewish prejudice, the Jewish bourgeois, who cannot consistently vote for a Socialist candidate, is driven into the almost equally inconsistent position of voting for the anti-Semitic Christian Socialist. This anomalous state of affairs has led a number of Jews to attempt the formation of a purely Democratic party, but so far without success. In the early years of the Austrian Republic a Jewish Nationalist received sufficient support to be elected to the Bundesrat, but internal differences subsequently rendered it impossible for

a deputy to be returned with a Jewish mandate. In Hungary, before the War, the ruling parties curried favour with the Jews in order to have their co-operation in bolstering up the Magyar hegemony against the minority nationalities ; but since Hungary has been reduced to one-third of her former territory and has become a uni-national State, the Jews have lost their positive political value for the Government parties. Unlike Austria, however, Hungary has her Democratic party, which was created and fearlessly led by a Jew, Wilhelm Vaszonyi, until he succumbed to the effects of an attack by an anti-Semitic desperado. This outrage, which took place in 1926, had been preceded by an almost unbroken series of assaults upon the Jews in various parts of Hungary, which had their motive in the political and social hostility aroused by the prominent participation of a few Jews in the Communist Government of Bela Kun. The non-Jews who took part in this short-lived administration were subjected, though with exceptions, to reprisals in their own person, but the misdeeds of a few Jews were visited upon the heads of hundreds of innocent fellow-Jews, who were brutally and often mysteriously done to death in the reign of terror conducted from 1919 to 1922 by the bloodthirsty "Awakening Magyars."

Of all the new States that came into being at the end of the War, the most important and perplexing from the Jewish point of view is Poland, where, thanks to their numbers, the Jews have been represented in the legislative chambers by a relatively large group of deputies of their own. In the elections of 1922, in which the Jews made a pact with the other national minorities, they obtained twenty seats in the Sejm, to which, in the following year, when East Galicia was definitely assigned to Poland, fifteen were added for that region, making altogether thirty-five, besides twelve Jewish members of the Senate. These Jewish deputies represent various Jewish parties—Zionist, Zionist Labour, *Folkist*<sup>1</sup> (Jewish Nationalism confined to the Diaspora), Orthodox, and Assimilationist—for the political life of Polish Jewry is almost as diversified and complex as that of Poland in general. On some Jewish questions they act together, being organized as a Parliamentary "Club," and combining generally with the deputies of the other national minorities, who thus hold the balance between the Right and the Left Parties of the Poles. Unfortunately, however, there are deep-seated differences between the Jewish parties, which have greatly retarded the solution of various questions. Thus,

<sup>1</sup> From the German *Volh*.

in regard to education, the Zionists demand Hebrew as the medium of instruction in the Jewish schools, and the Labour and *Folkist* elements Yiddish, whilst the Orthodox are opposed to any sort of secular education and want only the *Cheder*—the school for religious instruction. A further source of internal conflict is due to geographical situation, for whilst the Zionists of Congress Poland were in favour of the *bloc* of national minorities in the Sejm elections of 1928 in order to ensure adequate Jewish representation, those in East Galicia were opposed to it, for fear that their alliance with the Ukrainians, who are unalterably hostile to the Poles in consequence of the assignment of East Galicia to the latter, might cause them to be suspected of similar hostility.<sup>1</sup> Riven by domestic discord, the Jews of Poland are unable to present a sufficiently strong front to the Government, and thus their various grievances—social and cultural, economic and political—remain unsatisfied, whilst the pact which the majority of them have concluded with the other national minorities (Germans, White Russians, and Ukrainians), in the face of the undisguised and unconstitutional warning of the Government, appears scarcely calculated to improve their lot.

The Jews in Lithuania and Latvia, like their brethren in Poland, form their own political parties, and for the same reason, namely, to defend their interests in Parliament. They also have the same political parties as in Poland, with the exception of the Assimilationists, for the social and cultural life in Lithuania and Latvia is as yet too primitive and undeveloped to lure the Jew from attachment to his own community. Being comparatively few in number in both countries, the Jews are naturally limited to a small representation in the Diet, but even this, owing to internal differences, is not always as effective as Jewish interests require it to be. This separatist system of political activity also prevails in Rumania and Greece, but fortunately it differs from that in the Russian Succession States inasmuch as the Jews in those Balkan countries have fewer parties and closer union. As for Turkey, in which Jewish politicians played a prominent part before the War, they have now become a minus quantity, partly because of the dismemberment of the former Ottoman Empire, and partly because of the extreme nationalist orientation which Turkey has developed.

The active participation of the Jews in political life has

<sup>1</sup> The Polish elections of 1928 resulted in the return of 17 Jews to the Sejm (including 2 as Socialists and 2 as Government supporters) and 8 to the Senate (including 1 Socialist and 1 Government supporter.)

naturally won them a certain measure of parliamentary distinction, which in some countries far exceeds their ratio of the population. They are members of the legislative assembly of almost every land in which they enjoy civil equality, with the exception of the few countries, such as Spain and Norway, in which their numbers are relatively insignificant. They sit in the parliaments of London and Washington, of Paris and Berlin, Rome and Belgrade, Prague and Warsaw, Brussels and Amsterdam, Budapest and Bagdad, and in most of the legislative assemblies of the British Dominions. The Jewish members of Western parliaments, being elected for the most part by non-Jewish votes, confine themselves scrupulously to the interests of their electorates and can only rarely be moved to raise their voices on behalf of their oppressed brethren in other lands; on the other hand, those in the parliaments of Central and Eastern Europe devote their main energies to safeguarding the interests of their fellow-Jews. In the British House of Commons and the American House of Representatives a Jewish member may occasionally protest against some wrong done to his people, but such occasions are comparatively few. For the most part, Jewish parliamentarians in Western countries betray a singular timorousness in championing the cause of their own kith and kin, so that this task is left to the Jewish representative organizations. But despite this apathy to matters of Jewish importance, non-Jewish critics raise an alarm ever and again about the growing political influence of Jewry being a menace to the State. Whatever prominence Jewish politicians may attain is due not to their espousal of Jewish interests, but to the capacity they display in dealing with the general affairs of their country, and if, as is notorious, they do not exercise their influence on behalf of their fellow-Jews at home, they can certainly not be suspected, as they are sometimes accused by fanatical anti-Semites, of engaging in an international plot for Jewry's supremacy over the world.

The political activity of the Jews is by no means limited to membership of the elective chambers, as they were elevated many years ago to the British House of Lords, and they sit in the senates of Washington and Paris, of Warsaw and Bucharest, as well as in the House of Magnates in Budapest. More important still, they have sat, and sit, in the leading Cabinets of Europe and America, and have filled the highest positions open to political ambition. They have provided Great Britain with a number of exceptionally able statesmen: a Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Postmaster-General, President of the

Local Government Board, and Home Secretary (1909-16), all in the person of the versatile Sir Herbert Samuel; a Minister of Munitions (1916) and Secretary for India (1917-22) in the brilliant Edwin Montagu, who, by his reforms aiming at "the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire," has "influenced British-Indian relations to an extent perhaps not equalled by any previous Secretary of State for India"<sup>1</sup>; a First Commissioner of Works (1916-21) and Minister of Health (1921-22) in the original-minded Sir Alfred Mond (now Lord Melchett), an Attorney-General (1910-13) in Sir Rufus Isaacs; a Financial Secretary of the Treasury (1927-29) in Mr. Arthur M. Samuel, and an Under-Secretary for Air (1924-29) in Sir Philip Sassoon. The highest distinctions attained by an English Jew in the present century are those of Sir Rufus Isaacs, now better known as the Marquis of Reading, who has filled with success the exacting offices of Lord Chief Justice (1913-21), Special Ambassador to the United States (1918), and Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1921-26), although constitutionally the position of Master of the Rolls held by Sir George Jessel (1824-83) ranks higher. Jewry has likewise provided the British Dominions with several statesmen of the highest rank: Sir Julius Vogel as Prime Minister of New Zealand (1873), V. L. Solomon as Prime Minister of South Australia (1899), Henry Emanuel Cohen as Minister of Justice in New South Wales (1883-85), Sir Arthur Mielziner Myers as Minister of Finance, Defence (1912) and Munitions (1915-19) in New Zealand, Isaac Alfred Isaacs as Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Australia (1905-6), Simeon Jacobs as Attorney-General in Cape Colony (1874-82), Sir Nathaniel Nathan as Attorney-General in Trinidad (1898), and Sir Daniel Levy as Speaker of the New South Wales Parliament (from 1919).

On the Continent, the Jews have furnished Italy with a Prime Minister, Luigi Luzzatti (1910), who had previously served as Minister of Finance on six occasions, with another Minister of Finance (Leone Wollemborg, 1900-3), with a Minister of War (General Ottolenghi, 1902-3), an Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Isaac Artom, 1870-76, the friend and private secretary of Cavour), and a President of the Council of State (1914), Signor Malvano, who had previously acted as General Secretary of the Foreign Office and virtually conducted Italy's foreign policy. Some Jews have also played a

<sup>1</sup> *The Times* (obituary), November 17, 1924.



part in the Fascist Government. They have provided France, too, with a number of Ministers: Adolphe Cremieux, Minister of Justice in 1848, and member of the Government of National Defence in 1870; Michel Goudchaux, Minister of Finance in 1848, and Achille Fould in the same office under Napoleon III; Edouard Millaud, Minister of Public Works in 1886-87; David Raynal, Minister of Public Works in 1881 and of the Interior in 1893-94; Lucien Klotz, who has been Minister of Finance several times since 1912, besides Minister of the Interior in 1913; Paul Strauss, Minister of Public Works and Health; M. Bokanowski, Minister for Marine (1924) and Commerce (1926); and M. Abraham Schrameck, Minister of the Interior, and M. Hesse, Minister for Marine in 1925.

In Germany, where Eduard Lasker and Ludwig Bamberger played a prominent part in forming and leading the National Liberal Party until Bismarck's adoption of a Protectionist policy forced them to abandon it, no Jews were allowed to be Cabinet Ministers until after the War.<sup>1</sup> Since then the following have been distinguished as members of Governments: Hugo Preuss, Minister of the Interior, and Landsberg, Minister of Justice, in Scheidemann's Cabinet of February, 1919; Gradnauer, Minister of the Interior, and Walter Rathenau, Minister for Reconstruction, in the Wirth Cabinet of 1921, in which Rathenau later became Foreign Minister; and Hilferding, Finance Minister in the Stresemann Government of 1923. Of these Jewish Ministers by far the most famous is Walter Rathenau, whose genius for statesmanship was recognized far beyond the country which he served so well and who, in 1922, fell a victim of political assassins. In Bavaria, immediately after the War, two Jews suddenly achieved fame and power, but enjoyed them only for a few fleeting months. They were Kurt Eisner and George Landauer, who created a Communist Government (1918-19), with the feverish collaboration of Levine and Ernst Toller, but they were soon overthrown with their revolutionary regime and met with a violent death at the hands of the furious populace.

Moreover, Jewry has contributed a Minister of Commerce to Austria (Baron Simon von Winterstein, in 1867) and the United States (Oscar Straus, in 1906-9) a Minister of Justice to Holland (M. H. Godefroy, in 1860) and Hungary (Wilhelm

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, Germany's Colonial Secretary in 1907-10, was brought up in the Christian faith. For a similar reason Benjamin Disraeli is not included above, nor Kiamil Pasha, several times Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire before the War, who was born of Jewish parents but was brought up from early childhood in the Mohammedan faith.

Vaszyoni, in 1914), and a Minister of Finance to Denmark (Eduard Brandes, in 1911), Egypt (Joseph Cattau, 1924-25), and Iraq (Sassoon Haskell, in 1925). Almost similar in rank and even higher in authority than the position of a Cabinet Minister was the office held during the War, in the United States, by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch as Chairman of the War Industrial Board, "in whom was vested the power of virtual dictatorship over the civil life of the American community."<sup>1</sup>

The diplomatic and various branches of the Civil Service in many countries have also contained, and contain at present, conforming members of the Jewish faith. The American Commonwealth has been thrice represented in Constantinople by Mr. Oscar Straus as Ambassador (1887, 1897-1900, and 1909-10), and subsequently by Mr. Abraham Elkus (1910-12) and Mr. Henry Morgenthau (1913-16), and it has also appointed Jews as Ministers to Sweden (Ira Nelson Morris, 1914-23), Persia (Rabbi Joseph Louis Kornfeld, 1924), Czecho-Slovakia (Lewis Einstein, 1924), and Bolivia (David Kaufman, 1928). The only Jewish Ambassador that England has had, as already mentioned, is the Marquis of Reading. Sir Samuel Herbert was the first High Commissioner for Palestine (1920-25); Sir Matthew Nathan has had a successful record as Governor of the Gold Coast, Hong-Kong, Natal (1900-9), and Queensland (1920-25); whilst Sir Saul Samuel and Sir Julian Salomons have acted as Agent-General for New South Wales in London. Among those who hold, or have held, high positions on the Bench are Justice Louis Brandeis, of the Supreme Court of the United States, Justice Isaac Isaacs, of the High Court of Australia (since 1906), Henry Cohen, Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales (1896-1912), Simeon Jacobs, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope (1882), and Sir Nathaniel Nathan, Senior Puisne Judge in Trinidad (1893)<sup>2</sup>. To attempt anything like an adequate enumeration of Jews who have filled, or fill, important Government positions in England, America, France, Germany, and other countries, would mean the publication of an endless list of names.

Municipal life has also attracted a goodly portion of the activity of Jews in countries in which it is open to them, and they are frequently found in opposite camps, except where, as in many Continental cities, anti-Semitism plays a part in the affairs of the municipality. Jews have occupied the Lord Mayoralty of London on five occasions during the last seventy

<sup>1</sup> See *The Jews in the Making of America*, by George Cohen, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Michael Myers was appointed Chief Justice of New Zealand in April, 1929.

years, they have served as Chief Magistrates in a host of other cities in Great Britain and Ireland (Liverpool, Belfast, Bradford, Leicester, Norwich, etc.), and frequently acted as Sheriffs and Lord-Lieutenants of counties. They have also been the heads of municipalities in various parts of the British Dominions, figuring as pioneers in certain cases, as in Auckland, where the first two mayors of the city were Jews, and they are abundantly represented on the magisterial bench in English countries. On the Continent the most prominent successes in municipal life have been achieved by Ernesto Nathan, Mayor of Rome from 1911 to 1913, and by Franz Heltai, whose tenure of the office of Chief Burgomaster of Budapest was terminated after a few months by death. Honours and distinctions, hereditary and otherwise, have been conferred upon Jews by the Government or ruler of their country in recognition of their services to the State, or of their achievements in public life, or in their various professions. The Rothschild family was the first to be ennobled in modern Europe by the Crown of Austria (1822), and many are the Jewish barons created in various countries during the last forty years. In England there are now seven Jewish peers (including a Marquis) and a long array of baronets, knights, companions of various orders, and privy councillors. The heraldic arms of these Jewish lords and barons, with their quaint fusion of Hebrew mottoes with British designs, are a significant phenomenon in the latter-day evolution of Jewry.

The supreme test of patriotism—the defence of the fatherland—has been discharged in abundant measure by the Jews in all the lands in which they have been allowed to bear arms. During the last hundred years they have fought on all the battlefields not merely of Europe, but of the world; they have shed their blood in wars of liberation as in wars of conquest: and their heroism has received repeated recognition in the bestowal of medals and other decorations. In the American Civil War there were over 7000 Jews, including nine generals, in both armies; in the Franco-German War there were 4700 on the German and a few hundred on the French side; in the Spanish-American War (1898) there were over 2500 in American forces; in the South African War (1900) there were 1000 in the British Army; and in the Russo-Japanese War (1903–5) there were 40,000 in the Russian Army. But all these records are completely eclipsed by the enormous participation of the Jews in the fighting forces in the Great War. The total number of Jews in all countries who bore arms was close upon

1,500,000, or over 11 per cent of all the Jews in the world at the time, a proportion that is all the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that there are communities in the lands that remained neutral. The total was made up largely as follows :<sup>1</sup>

<i>Country.</i>	No. of Jewish combatants	—of whom were killed
Russia . . . . .	600,000	14,000
Austria . . . . .	400,000	
Germany . . . . .	100,000	12,000
Hungary . . . . .		10,000
British Empire . . . . .	50,000	8,674
Rumania . . . . .	23,000	933
Serbia . . . . .		300
United States . . . . .	200,000	3,500
Belgium . . . . .	400	40

The Jews on every front acquitted themselves with remarkable bravery and won more than their fair share of distinctions. Of those in the British army 5 obtained the Victoria Cross, 50 the Distinguished Service Order, and 240 the Military Cross, besides numerous other awards,<sup>2</sup> whilst of those in the German army as many as 35,000 received decorations. Many Jews held important positions of command, especially in the French army, in which several of them were Generals, whilst in the British forces the most distinguished Jew was Sir John Monash, who was in supreme command of the Australian troops on the Western front. For the first time for hundreds of years Jews fought as Jews in formations of their own—first, in the Zion Mule Corps at Gallipoli, and afterwards as battalions of the Royal Fusiliers in Palestine, where their prowess in pursuing the Turks beyond the Jordan was mentioned in General Allenby's despatch.<sup>3</sup>

In their activity in the political world the Jews have been associated in a conspicuous degree with the advancement of the Socialist movement, but the extent of their participation in this movement has, on the whole, been inferior to their support of Capitalist or bourgeois parties. Karl Marx, who laid the scientific foundations of Socialism, was of Jewish birth and the grandson of a Rabbi, but was brought up from child-

<sup>1</sup> The figures for France, Italy and Bulgaria cannot be ascertained; those for Belgium do not include a number of foreign (mainly Russian) Jews, who also fought and fell under the Belgium flag. An incomplete list for France gives 2,200 killed (see article in *American Jewish Year-Book*, 5680).

<sup>2</sup> See *British Jewry's Book of Honour* (Caxton Publishing Co., 1922).

<sup>3</sup> See *With the Zionists at Gallipoli*, by J. H. Patterson.

hood in the Christian faith: to him Judaism was a religion bound up with Capitalism.<sup>1</sup> His doctrines have found a considerable measure of Jewish adhesion, beyond their native soil, only in those countries in which, before the War, there was a medley of parties struggling against privilege or absolutism, or in which Jews were oppressed, whereas the extent of Jewish support in countries where the currents of political life are not so turbulent, such as England and America, is relatively small and unimportant. The founder of the German Social Democratic Party was the Jew Ferdinand Lassalle, and most of its leaders down to the present day have been drawn from Jewish ranks, notably the late Paul Singer, Hugo Haase, and the leader of the Revisionist movement, Eduard Bernstein, whilst most of the able exponents of Revisionism are believed to have been inspired by the teaching of Professor Herman Cohen, who for many years expounded a liberal philosophy at the Marburg University. The principal leader of the Socialist Party in Austria before the War was Dr. Viktor Adler, who died (Nov. 11, 1918) as Foreign Minister of the newly created Austrian Republic; his son, Friedrich Adler, is secretary of the Second International; and the present heads of Austrian Socialism are Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch. In France the Revolutionary Syndicalism that grew up before the War was attributed by some to the influence of the philosophy of Professor Henri Bergson, whilst the Socialist leader is Leon Blum. There is nothing Jewish, however, among the great majority of these advocates of Socialism except the accident of birth: they have almost without exception abandoned the Synagogue and declared themselves freethinkers. Champions of a cause that pretends to know no national distinctions, they have, for the most part, cut themselves adrift from their own people, and if occasionally they protest against the sufferings of Israel they do so not out of racial sympathy but from general humanitarian motives. Leon Blum and Eduard Bernstein have, indeed, manifested a sincere sympathy with Zionism, but the Jewish Socialist leaders of other countries, especially of Austria, are its uncompromising opponents.

In most countries Socialism has attracted only individual Jews, but in Eastern Europe, especially Russia and Poland, it has won the adhesion of the masses, thanks to the pressure

<sup>1</sup> The fundamental principles of Socialism were previously propounded and advocated by the Englishman Robert Owen, the Frenchmen Babeuf, St. Simon, and Fourier, and the Germans v. Thünen and Weitling—all non-Jews. Marx was simply the great systematizer.

of economic misery and legal persecution.<sup>1</sup> In 1897, at a Conference in Vilna, was founded the Bund, the popular designation of the "Allgemeiner Jüdischer Arbeiter-Bund in Russland, Polen, und Lithauen," which feverishly propagated Socialistic ideas by a ceaseless output of Yiddish literature among the working-classes of the former Pale of Settlement and succeeded in enrolling 30,000 organized members by 1905. At first the Bund aimed solely at the economic betterment of the Jewish artisan population, whose very existence had hitherto been denied by the enemies of Jewry; but upon the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1905, the Bund expanded its programme by demanding national cultural autonomy for the Jews. The period of terror ushered in by that Revolution gave birth to various new Socialist parties among the Proletariat of the Pale, which were animated by a keener sense of the national needs of Jewry than the Bund: they all agreed that the Jewish question could be solved only in a Jewish territory, yet radically and bitterly differed as to the method of solution.<sup>2</sup> The Zionist Socialist Labour Party, designated, for the sake of alliteration, "S.S." instead of "Z.S." (though they should have been termed more correctly Socialist Territorialists), advocated national autonomy in any territory, and the Jewish Socialist Labour Party, styled "Sarp" (*Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei*) or "Seimisten" (Russ., *Seim*=Diet), demanded national autonomy in the Pale, whilst both were opposed to a Jewish national settlement in Palestine. On the other hand, the "Poale Zion" Party (Heb., Workers of Zion) was founded in 1905 to aim at a synthesis of Socialism with Jewish nationalism in Palestine.

The War brought about the dissolution of the Bund in Russia (where it split up into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the latter being finally crushed), but the Bund has survived intact in Poland, where it forms a considerable political factor.<sup>3</sup> The War, moreover, gave an impetus to Socialism within the Zionist world, which contains, besides the Poale Zion, two other parties: the "Zeire Zion" (lit., Young Zionists), who are a pre-War creation, recruited from the lower middle-class, as

<sup>1</sup> The first attempt to found a Jewish Socialist Society was made in 1876 by a group of Russian Jews, under the leadership of A. S. Lieberman, in the East End of London.

<sup>2</sup> See "Der jüdische Sozialismus u. seine Stroemungen," by Maxim Anin in the *Jüdischer Almanach*, 5670 (Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin, 1910).

<sup>3</sup> At the Conference of the Bund in Warsaw, in January, 1929, it was reported that the party has 378 representatives on Polish Municipalities, Sick Funds, and the Boards of Jewish Communities (*Bulletin of Jew. Teleg. Agency*, January 1, 1929).

distinct from the proletariat, on which the Poale Zion is built up, and the *Hitachduth* (lit., "Union"), which, founded in 1920 as a combination of a section of the "Zeire Zion" with the Palestinian Labour Party "Hapoel Hazair" (The Young Worker), has adopted as its programme the establishment of a "Jewish national centre in Palestine on the basis of a Socialist community animated by Hebraic labour culture,"<sup>1</sup> and eschews pure Marxism and the class-war.

In the foregoing survey of political activity no account has been taken of the conditions in Soviet Russia, owing to the fact that these belong to a distinct category of their own, which precludes comparison or grouping with other countries. Jews have been prominently identified with Soviet Russia, not so much because of the number participating in its administration, which has been greatly exaggerated, as because of the positions of authority which some of them have held. The part which they have played in the Bolshevik Revolution is the natural outcome of the revolutionary ideas engendered in them by the many decades of oppression which they had endured under the Tsars, and the wonder is not that many of them flocked to the banner of Lenin as their saviour, when the Germans facilitated his return from Switzerland to Russia, as that the number was not far greater. The extent of their participation in local government is due to the fact that during the War vast numbers of Jews were driven from the then Western provinces of Russia into the interior, which had been abandoned by the educated Russians, and hence, when the Revolution broke out, they were the only people qualified to occupy official positions. The most prominent of the Jewish leaders among the Bolsheviks, most of whom adopted Slavonic names, are Trotsky (formerly Bronstein), who at one time was almost the equal of Lenin in fame and power, organized the "Red Army," and was for several years Commissar for War and the Marine, Zinovieff (Apfelbaum), formerly Chairman of the Third International, Kameneff (Rosenfeld), and Radek (Sobelsohn). The foreign policy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has been largely directed for some years by Litvinoff, who was at one time the Soviet representative in London, whilst other Jews have held ambassadorial positions. By far the ablest of these was Adolf Yoffe, the first President of the Soviet Peace Delegation to the German-Soviet Peace Conference at Brest-Litovsk in 1918 and the first Soviet Ambassador to

<sup>1</sup> See "Die jüdische Arbeiterbewegung," in *Zionistisches Handbuch*, edited by Gerhard Holdheim (Berlin, 1923).

Germany, who presided over the negotiations with Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland, served as Minister to China and Japan, and was later appointed Ambassador in Vienna, but was unable to assume that office owing to a break-down in health, which subsequently led to his suicide (1927). Other Soviet diplomatists have been Rosengolz, who had to leave London in 1927 upon the rupture of relations between England and Russia, and Theodore Rothstein, who is still in Teheran.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the prominence of these Jewish Bolsheviks in the land of "proletarian dictatorship" has been of no advantage to Russian Jewry. Enemies of Judaism as of all religions, and bitter persecutors of Zionism and the Hebrew language, they are Jews merely by birth, who are utterly bereft of all sympathy with the activities and aspirations of the Jewish people. They have wrought havoc in the intellectual and spiritual life of Russian Jewry by their systematic crusade against Jewish religious observance and the study of sacred Hebrew writ, whilst the economic life of the Jews, who are predominantly a townsfolk engaged in commercial pursuits, has been thoroughly undermined and impoverished by the abolition of private trading. On the other hand, the prominence of the Jewish Bolsheviks has brought upon the Jews both in Russia and other countries considerable and unceasing odium, as though Bolshevism were a purely Jewish doctrine and all its apostles conforming children of Israel. After ten years of Soviet government, however, the Jewish element has greatly declined. In the Council of People's Commissaries, which virtually forms the Government, there is now not a single Jew, and according to statistics published in 1926, the numbers of Jews in the Russian Communist party forms only 3.9 per cent. The latest internal developments, following upon the death of Lenin, have produced an Opposition party, representing the extremist wing in Communism, and largely under the leadership of Trotsky and other Jews, which has been sternly repressed by the Government by the banishment from Russia of the once mighty Trotsky and the exile of his colleagues to remote and barbarous regions.



## Book IV

# THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

### INTRODUCTION

Participation in all branches of economic activity—Poverty and migration.

THE Jews, who, in ancient times, were mainly engaged in agriculture, and in the Middle Ages in trade, are now represented in every sphere of economic activity. In most countries they still show a predilection for various forms of commerce, owing partly to historic and social influences, but they have devoted themselves in increasing numbers during the last seventy years to all branches of industry, to manufactures and handicrafts as well as mining, whilst their preponderance in the business world, in which they have manifested special aptitudes, is tending to diminish. Equally significant of the transition from mediæval conditions is the return to the land, from which Jews had been excluded for the most part since their dispersion. Despite their urbanization for so many centuries they have now for more than forty years successfully engaged in farming and forestry in various regions, notably in their ancestral country. But the most characteristic feature of the economic activity of modern Jewry is the growing number of those engaged in the liberal professions and public service.

The material position of the great majority of Jewry defies description. Only a small portion of those settled in Western countries enjoy the wealth that is commonly attributed to the entire race; but in the regions containing more than two-thirds of the world's Jewry, Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, there is a depressing spectacle of widespread poverty and misery. Goaded by oppression and economic distress the Jews of Eastern Europe, before the War, used to flee in hundreds of thousands to the lands of the West, especially America and England, bringing with them the industries in which they were engaged at home. They migrated not singly but in families, almost in communities, braving the

countless hardships of the voyage to the once vaunted lands of liberty, whose portals are now strictly guarded by inquisitorial janitors. Since the War, which has resulted in an increase of economic depression in Eastern Europe and likewise in a shrinkage of the spirit of hospitality on the part of those very States which were formerly loudest in acclaiming the virtues of liberty and humanity, the volume of migration has perforce diminished whilst its direction has also partly changed, and the resultant condition of the great bulk of Jewry in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe is one of constant anxiety and stress.

## CHAPTER I

### SPHERES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Historic and religious factors—Pioneers of commerce—Commercial activity in various lands—Activity in finance—Participation in industries—Industrial conditions in Poland, Russia, Lithuania; in Central and Western Europe; in America and England—Agricultural activity in Russia, Poland, and Central Europe—Advance of agriculture in America—Colonization in Palestine—The liberal professions and public service.

**D**ISPERSED throughout all the lands of the earth the Jews are found among the followers of nearly every occupation, but they show a particular predilection and capacity for certain branches of economic activity which can be traced to definite factors. They are represented in the largest numbers in commercial pursuits and domestic industries owing partly to historic influences and partly to religious requirements. From the downfall of Judæa in the first century until the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jews, who had for centuries lived by tending their flocks and tilling their soil, were, with insignificant exceptions, strictly barred from the land, which they could neither buy, rent, nor cultivate. They were thus early forced to choose between trading and manual labour. Thanks to their dispersion in the various countries around the Mediterranean and the feeling of racial solidarity that united them, they had exceptional facilities for engaging in international trade; whilst the adoption of handicrafts was fostered by the example of the Rabbis themselves, who made it a rule of life to combine the study of the Torah with the pursuit of a secular calling.<sup>1</sup>

The legislation of the Middle Ages, which confined the Jews to special quarters, excluded them from the trade guilds, and allowed them to deal only in money and merchandise, inevitably forced the great majority into commerce, in which, aided by wits sharpened by ages of Talmudical dialectics and by the very struggle for existence itself, they developed special capacities and achieved considerable success. The influence of the religious factor in determining the choice of occupation

<sup>1</sup> Mishna, *Pirke Aboth*, II; Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Vol. II, p. 471.

is seen in its earliest and simplest form in the callings necessitated by the requirements of the community, namely, those of the baker, the butcher, and the dairyman, who had to provide bread, meat, and milk conforming with the strict regulations of the Jewish law, as well as those of the functionaries attached to the synagogue—the Rabbi, precentor, teacher, and beadle ; but the effect of this influence upon the masses of the population did not show itself prominently until the latter half of the nineteenth century in their preferring domestic industries to factory labour, so as to be able to observe the sanctity of the Sabbaths and festivals undisturbed. The abolition of the Ghetto and the removal of mediæval restrictions resulted in an appreciable diminution of the numbers devoted to commerce and an increase of those engaged in industries and handicrafts, whilst there was also a gradual return to agriculture both in the Old and the New World. The political emancipation of the Jews also threw open to them the liberal professions and Government service, which are attracting an increasing proportion every year, particularly in Western Europe and the United States. At the present day, therefore, it may be said that the Jews are found in all the main departments of the economic world and in most of their subsidiary branches.

The main sphere of economic activity in which Jews have been engaged is that of commerce in all its forms, whether as wholesale or retail traders, bankers or financiers, shippers of trans-oceanic trade or carriers of local wares, war contractors or dealers in old masters, founders of newspapers or organizers of international exhibitions. Professor Werner Sombart, in a very notable work,<sup>1</sup> emphasizes and illustrates the influence of the Jews upon the economic progress of modern nations, and describes how they quickened international and colonial trade, financed Governments, and developed and perfected the commercial and financial instruments of modern economic life. He maintains that the centre of trade was transferred from the south to the north of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in consequence of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and their migration into Holland, Germany, and England, but his proofs of this contention are inadequate, and it is more likely that the Jews simply developed and profited by the commercial opportunities which they

<sup>1</sup> *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig, 1911). An English translation, somewhat abbreviated, by Dr. M. Epstein, was published under the title of *The Jews and Modern Capitalism* (Fisher Unwin, 1913).

already found in these lands. It is less disputable, however, that they held the major portion of the Levantine trade in their hands from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and took a prominent part in bringing the commodities of the Indies to Europe; that they established the importance of the Leipzig fairs and were the first to exploit the trade in precious metals; that they had a considerable share in founding the British colonial trade and in promoting the economic development of the American Commonwealth; and that with the advance of the modern era they instituted the bill exchange and stock exchange and popularized the bill of exchange, the company share, the bank-note, and other negotiable instruments of present-day commerce. The "industrial awakening of almost the whole interior of Cape Colony" in the early thirties of the nineteenth century was due to Benjamin Markus and Simeon Norden<sup>1</sup>; the wool and hide trades and the mohair industry in South Africa were established by the Mosenthal brothers, and the whale and fishing industry by the De Pass brothers; Joel Myers introduced ostrich farming, whilst the Albus, Barnatos, and Ecksteins played a prominent part in the development of the diamond and gold mines. One of the most romantic episodes in the colonization of South Africa was the creation of Nathaniel Isaacs in 1828 as Chief of Natal by Tshaka, King of the Zulus, who presented him with a great tract of the country extending 100 miles inland from the sea in return for his services in subduing a hostile tribe. The Nathans of Auckland opened up trade between New Zealand and Japan, and the Mesas of Aden between Arabia and East Africa. In more recent times Jews have distinguished themselves by creating the department stores, particularly on the Continent and in America,<sup>2</sup> and by attaining a prominent position in the art-dealing world of Europe.<sup>3</sup>

The success of the Jew in business has prompted various theories as to its origin. Professor Sombart has evolved the fanciful idea that the Jew owes his commercial aptitude to the influence of his religion, which he regards as dominated by rationalism; but Dr. Ruppin and Dr. Zollschan<sup>4</sup> are nearer

<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. XI, p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Wertheim and Tietz in Germany; Macy and Rosenwald in America.

<sup>3</sup> Duveen, London; Seligmann, Paris; Heilbronn, Berlin; Hirsch, Vienna, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See Dr. Zollschan's criticism of Prof. Sombart's theories in the preface to the 3rd edition of *Das Rassenproblem* (Wm. Braumüller, Vienna and Leipzig, 1912). Also *Angriff und Abwehr: ein Handbuch der Judenfrage*, by H. Stern (Berlin, 1924), pp. 63-65.

the truth in declaring that the Jew has no specific business capacity, but that his general intellectual equipment finds a fertile field of activity in a vocation demanding mobility and originality of thought and promptness of action, and that it is by virtue of the same mental qualities that he has distinguished himself in politics, law, medicine, and chess-playing. The Jew is of a speculative and calculating turn of mind; he is quick to comprehend, he has enterprise, initiative, and foresight; he is a keen competitor, a hard bargainer, a capable organizer, and has known how to develop and utilize the art of advertisement: all attributes of supreme value in the commercial struggle. He is, moreover, endowed with perseverance and readiness of resource; he can adapt himself to the whims of fortune and quickly change from one line of business to another, and even from one occupation to another, in the determination to advance. He has established a secure, if not everywhere prosperous, position in the business world, though he has a match not only in the Greeks and Armenians, who are born traders, but also in the Americans and the Scotsmen. But although the Jew has acquired the reputation of being the personification of the commercial spirit, he is sometimes quite shiftless and helpless, failing miserably in everything he undertakes as though pursued by some mocking sprite, and good-humouredly nicknamed by his brethren a *Schlemiel*.

Jews form the predominating element among those engaged in commercial pursuits throughout the greater part of Eastern Europe.<sup>1</sup> In Poland they comprise 75 per cent of the entire

<sup>1</sup> For the period before the Great War there are occupation statistics of the Jews available for the following countries, the year after the country being the date of the census: (a) Germany (1907): *Die beruflichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland*, by Dr. J. Segall (Berlin, Max Schildeberger, 1912); (b) Italy (1901): *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, January, 1905 (Berlin); (c) Austria (1900): *Die Juden in Österreich*, by Dr. J. Thon (Berlin, 1908); (d) Russia (1897): *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Juden in Russland* (Berlin, 1906), Bulletin of the Bureau of Labour, "Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia," by I. M. Rubinow (Washington, 1907), and *Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden*, by W. W. Kaplun-Kogan (Bonn, Markus, and Weber, 1913); (e) Rumania (1901-2 and 1904), *Die Juden in Rumänien* (Berlin, 1908). The original sources of the statistics for pre-War Russia are the Government Census of 1897 and the Investigation conducted by the Jewish Colonization Association in 1898-99, published first in Russia (Leningrad, 1904) and afterwards in French under the title of *Recueil de matériaux sur la situation économique des Israélites en Russie d'après l'enquête de la Jewish Colonization Association* (Paris, 1906). The only other country of which Jewish occupation statistics for the pre-War period are extant is New South Wales (*Hebrew Standard*, Sydney, March 10, 1905), but as they only concern a total employed population of 3031 and were compiled in 1901 they cannot be regarded as of much significance for present-day conditions.

mercantile class, holding 300,000 out of the 417,392 trading licences issued by the Government, and nearly half of them have concentrated on the trade in manufactured goods, leather, and metal. Before the War the enormous exchange of goods between Eastern and Western Europe was carried out for the most part by the Jews in Poland, but their activity, and consequently also their prosperity, has been considerably diminished by the severing of commercial relations with other parts, especially Soviet Russia, whilst they are gravely handicapped by their difficulty in obtaining credit from Polish banks. In Galicia, where there is a dearth of industries and the staple occupation is agriculture, the Jews practically monopolize trade, forming 92·2 per cent of the commercial class in East Galicia and 81 per cent in West Galicia, but the great majority are merely petty shopkeepers, pedlars, and hawkers. In Lithuania they also form a high proportion of the trading class, viz. 73·1 per cent, as compared with 85·7 per cent in 1897, but they are mostly small shopkeepers. In Russia the Jewish merchants and small traders were ruined by the Revolution with its suppression of private trade, and although they were favoured for a time by the "New Economic Policy," this did not continue long enough to produce any substantial benefit. Nearly one-third of the Jews in Russia are said to be engaged in trade, which is largely of an illicit character, but owing to the absence of credit, the limitation of wares, abnormal taxation, heavy fines, and especially the competition from Government and co-operative stores, they can barely scrape a pittance together. In Rumania the Jews form a fifth of the entire commercial class, though the proportion rises in some parts of the country to a half and even three-fourths, the maximum being reached in Jassy and Botosani. They entirely monopolize the petroleum trade and form the bulk of the dealers in iron goods (92 per cent), cotton goods (88 per cent), flour, timber, and fur.

Moving westwards, we find that in Germany 50·35 per cent of the Jews are engaged in commerce and transport, as compared with 13·41 per cent of the general population; that in Vienna

For the post-War period occupation statistics of the Jews in Poland are available in (1) the publications of an Investigation Commission of the Joint Distribution Committee (summarized in *Blätter für Demographie, Statistik, u. Wirtschaftskunde der Juden*, Vols. I and III), and (2) a Yiddish work, *Die Ekonomische Lage von die Yiden in Polen*, edited by Moses Schalit and published by the Association of Jewish Co-operative Societies in Poland (Vilno, 1926). Occupation statistics relating to the Jews in Soviet Russia have been published by the Government, and some data relating to those in Lithuania and Latvia are given in *Blätter für Demographie*.

(which contains 90 per cent of the Jewish population in Austria) the proportions are 43·23 per cent and 28 per cent respectively ; and that in Italy the proportions are 50·35 and 8·32 per cent. In Great Britain and America the majority of the native Jews are also engaged in commerce, those in the latter country largely controlling the trade in corn, tobacco, and cotton, whilst the East European immigrants provide a goodly contingent of shopkeepers and hawkers. Moreover, in Great Britain Jews are prominent in the furniture hire-purchase trade, whilst their brethren in the United States are even more conspicuous in the real estate business.

The participation of Jews in finance is relatively not so great or important at the present day as it was until the middle of the nineteenth century. The refusal of the mediæval Church to allow its adherents to deal in money, as something taboo, gave the Jews a monopoly in which they were able to specialize, and they thus acquired considerable skill and success in financial operations. The outstanding episode in the history of Jewish finance, as indeed in the annals of modern finance in general, is the unparalleled rise of the firm of Rothschild, which, starting from modest foundations in Frankfort in 1760, raised loans for almost every country of importance during the next hundred years, and is estimated to have contracted for or participated in loans to the huge total of £1,300,000,000 up to 1904.<sup>1</sup> Among the most important transactions carried out by the Rothschilds were the transmission of £18,000,000 sterling to the Continent between 1814 and 1822 for payment to the anti-Napoleonic Allies, the raising of a loan of £15,000,000 for the British Government in 1856, the arrangement with Bleichroeder for the payment to Germany of the French indemnity of five milliard francs after the Franco-Prussian War, and the advance of £4,080,000 to the British Government in 1875 for the purchase of 176,600 Suez Canal shares.<sup>2</sup> One of the most important factors that contributed to the success of the Rothschild house was its establishment of branches in London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples, each headed by a brother, which enabled it to undertake operations of an international character ; but the branch at Naples was discontinued in 1861, and the ancestral house at Frankfort was closed forty years later. The Rothschild firm, however, was not the only Jewish house that undertook State and municipal loans in the early half of the nineteenth century : it had many serious competitors

<sup>1</sup> *Financial Times*, February 13, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol X, art. "Rothschild."



in the Pereires, Lazards, Speyers, Sterns, Seligmanns, and Bischoffsheims, who also adopted the Rothschild system of establishing local branches in European capitals, each under the charge of a brother. But the movement that spread throughout Western Europe in the fifties of last century for the formation of credit banks and the growing practice of Governments to throw open the subscription of loans to the general public combined to break down the Jewish monopoly of international finance, which may be said to have largely passed away by 1900.<sup>1</sup>

Jewish financiers invested considerably in the construction of railways in the latter half of the nineteenth century, notably the Pereires in North France, the Bischoffsheims in Belgium, the Bleichroeders in Germany, Baron de Hirsch in Turkey, and Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb & Co. (Messrs. Felix Warburg and Otto Kahn) in the United States, whilst it was to a Jew by birth, Sir Ernest Cassel, that the financing of the Nile Dam was due. In Tsarist Russia, too, the influence of Jewish finance showed itself in the establishment of commercial banks by Barons Joseph and Horace de Günzburg and Leon Rosenthal of St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) and by Baron Kronenberg and Iwan Blioch of Warsaw; whilst farther east the Sassoons, "the Rothschilds of the East," have created a network of banks from Bagdad to Shanghai. At present the movement of precious metals throughout the world is mainly directed by Jewish bankers, who largely determine the rate of exchange between one country and another; but there is absolutely no ground for the allegation, often made by anti-Semitic scribes, that the Jewish financiers of different countries are in alliance and use their combined resources for the purpose of exercising Jewish domination. On the contrary, the competition between Jewish houses is just as keen as between other firms. If there is any policy at all, apart from purely business considerations, by which self-respecting Jewish financiers are guided, it is the abstention from raising loans for any Government guilty of oppressing its Jewish subjects. Thus, Jewish bankers consistently refrained from helping Tsarist Russia; but unfortunately such scruples in regard to an anti-Semitic Government have not always been shown since the War.<sup>2</sup> The part played by Jews in the banking world of Great Britain

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, art. "Finance."

<sup>2</sup> The London house of Rothschilds provided a loan for Hungary in 1924 despite the White Terror waged against the Jews and the *numerus clausus* scandal (*New Statesman*, April 7, 1928).

and America is comparatively unimportant, and in marked contrast to the position that they occupy in Germany, Austria, and especially Hungary.<sup>1</sup> The number of Jews on the Stock Exchange, at least in English-speaking countries, is not as large as is popularly supposed. In London there are about 300 Jews among 4000 members of the Stock Exchange, that is, about 7·5 per cent, whilst in New York the percentage is naturally much higher. On the other hand, there is a very large Jewish element on most of the leading bourses on the Continent.

The reproach that used to be levelled against the Jew, that he is only a middle-man and not a producer, has less justification now than it ever had. One of the most striking features of the present day is the steady increase in the participation of Jews, both in the East and the West, in industrial occupations, whether as manufacturers or mechanics, a tendency illustrated by the large number of Jewish schools for manual training established during the last sixty years not only in Europe and America, but also in Palestine and other parts of the Near East. In Poland the Jews form nearly 50 per cent of all manual workers in the country, which is not surprising when it is borne in mind that they constitute nearly one-half of the total urban population. The industrial census carried out by the Joint Distribution Committee in 1921 in 185 towns in all parts of Poland comprised 67,987 factories, in which, of 213,000 persons, 171,461 (owners and employees) or 80 per cent were Jews, and the latter formed only one-third of the entire number of Jews engaged in industry. The largest proportion, 45·4 per cent, are in the clothing trade, whilst 17·9 per cent are employed in textiles, 11 per cent in food manufactures, 5·8 per cent in the leather trade, and smaller numbers in the metal, timber, and paper industries. The trades connected with the precious metals, such as jewellery and watchmaking, are almost exclusively manned by Jews. Whilst the preponderating number are occupied in various forms of manufacture (78·6 per cent in workshops, as compared with 21·4 per cent in factories), there is a notable colony of Jews engaged on the naphtha wells of Boryslav, in the working of which they display remarkable pluck.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of the 63 directors of 10 leading banks in Germany (Deutsche Bank, Dresdener, Disconto-Gesellschaft, etc.), 25 are Jews (*Der Morgen*, Berlin, August 9, 1927). In Austria and Hungary the proportion is even higher. See also *Jüdische Weltfinanz?* by Richard Lewinsohn (Hoffmann u. Campe Verlag, Berlin, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> *Die Welt*, June 20, 1913.

The total number of Jews living by different branches of industry amounts to 30 per cent of the Jewish population. This represents a decline as compared with conditions before the War, which is shown in the closing of many workshops : e.g. in Vilna, during the period 1914-21, Jewish workshops in the nine principal trades diminished from 2171 to 1476 (by 32 per cent) and the number of workers was reduced by 66 per cent. But this retrogression is likely to be checked and made good as a result of the measures taken by the "Ort"<sup>1</sup> for supplying artisans with tools, establishing vocational schools and workshops for adult workers, and organizing training shops for juveniles.

In Soviet Russia, according to official data, 905,000 Jews, or about one-third of the Jewish population, are engaged in small manufactures at home. In the Ukraine there are 128,067 Jews who are members of trade unions (forming 12.8 per cent), and they are distributed among a very large number of occupations, as follows :

	<i>Jews.</i>	<i>Per cent of Total Workers.</i>
Needle trades . . . . .	6,614	73.4
Leather „ . . . . .	7,321	48.6
Printing „ . . . . .	4,957	39.4
Woodworkers . . . . .	2,763	29.7
Manufacture and distribution of food . . . . .	16,113	28.6
Paper mills . . . . .	401	17.5
Textiles . . . . .	1,731	16.9
Chemicals . . . . .	3,462	14.1
Building . . . . .	4,766	9.8
Sugar mills . . . . .	3,379	9.3
Metals . . . . .	7,777	6.9
Mining . . . . .	831	0.5
<b>Total Industries.....</b>	<b>60,115</b>	<b>12.0</b>
Local transportation . . . . .	3,876	15.8
Railroads . . . . .	632	0.7
Waterworks . . . . .	523	6.4
Public communication . . . . .	384	2.6
<b>Total Transportation and   Communication.....</b>	<b>5,415</b>	<b>3.9</b>

<sup>1</sup> Initials of the Russian name of the organization for the promotion of handicrafts and agriculture among the Jews of Eastern Europe (see page 75).

	<i>Jews.</i>	<i>Per cent of Total Workers.</i>
Arts . . . . .	3,498	39·8
Public Health . . . . .	14,377	27·2
Clerks at trade establishments and at Soviet institutions . . . . .	28,269	22·9
Education . . . . .	8,556	12·2
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total Intellectual Pursuits....	54,700	21·4
Communal work . . . . .	4,326	15·5
People's provisioning . . . . .	2,037	7·6
Farm hands and forest workers . . . . .	1,474	2·9
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total Miscellaneous Pursuits....	7,837	11·6
<hr/>		<hr/>
Grand Total	128,067	12·8

Of the 3 million Jews in Soviet Russia 360,000 are registered as wage-earners (including domestic servants), clerks, and members of liberal professions, and there are 300,000 who are members of trade unions. Before the War the proportion of Jews engaged in industrial occupations was 40 per cent, but since then it has declined, being 28 per cent in the Ukraine and 25 per cent in White Russia. It is significant to note that in the government districts of Kiev, Podolia, Cherson, and Tchernigov, Jewish tailor apprentices have declined from 9812 in 1898 to 3753 in 1924, a diminution of 62 per cent. Nevertheless, Jews form about 80 per cent of all those engaged in industrial pursuits in White Russia and the Ukraine, and their numbers are likely to increase in consequence of the steps that the Government proposes to take for the furtherance of industry among them.

In Rumania, according to the latest available data, which relate to pre-War conditions, Jews formed 9·5 per cent of all the manufacturers and only 5·3 per cent of the factory employees, whilst they accounted for 52·8 per cent of the glass, 32·4 per cent of the furniture, and 39·1 per cent of the clothing manufacturers.<sup>1</sup> The proportion of Jews engaged in manual trades was four and a half times larger than their ratio to the population, whilst in Jassy they formed over three-fourths of the artisan class. In Lithuania the Jews, although only 7·6 per cent of the population, form 21·3 per cent of those

<sup>1</sup> *Die Juden in Rumänien*, p. 30.

engaged in industry, as compared with 38·1 per cent in 1897.<sup>1</sup> The largest proportion—one-third—are occupied in tailoring and shoemaking, a fifth are in the leather trade, over a sixth in food products, and smaller numbers in the metal, building, timber, and textile trades. It is notable that women form 25·9 per cent of the Jewish industrial class in Lithuania, and of them 90 per cent are in the tailoring trade. In the neighbouring country of Latvia the Jews, although only 5 per cent of the population, own 10·5 per cent of the factories.<sup>2</sup>

In Central and Western Europe there is also a goodly proportion of Jews engaged in industry, often occupying commanding positions. There are no occupation statistics for the Austrian Republic, but in Vienna, which contains 90 per cent of all the Jews in the country, the percentage of those employed in industrial pursuits is 28·19.<sup>3</sup> In Germany 21·87 per cent of the Jews were engaged in industry in 1907, as compared with 19·30 per cent in 1895, the principal branches being machinery, metals, building, paper, timber, and especially chemicals and textiles. An important part in the industrial expansion of Germany has been played by Emil Rathenau, the creator, and Walter Rathenau, the developer of the electro-chemical industry, as well as by Albert Ballin, a co-founder of Germany's commercial fleet, Aaron Hirsch, founder of the copper and brass works at Eberswalde, Adolf Franck, founder of the potash industry, and Moritz Becker, organizer of the amber industry on the Baltic coast. One of the characteristic features of Jewish labour, not only on the Continent but also in England and America, is the comparatively large proportion occupied in the clothing industry. Of 40,000 Jewish artisans in Germany, distributed in twenty-two different occupations (in 1907), over one-third were engaged in this industry, whilst in Rumania it claims over three-fifths. In Paris, which has attracted such a large number of Jews from Eastern Europe since the Peace Conference, over one-half are said to be employed in this industry; the Polish Jews settled there over forty years ago made a special kind of cap, which proved popular among Frenchmen, and its manufacture has remained almost wholly in Jewish hands. In Holland and Belgium a large number of Jews (in Amsterdam as many as one-fourth) are engaged in the precious-stone industry: at the beginning of this century they formed 80 per cent of the employers and employees in it, but

<sup>1</sup> *Blätter für Demographie, Statistik, etc., der Juden*, No. 5 (1925).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Die Juden Wiens*, von Dr. Leo Goldhammer (Vienna, 1927).

in recent years the participation of non-Jews has increased.<sup>1</sup> A notable addition to the economic activities of the East European Jews in Belgium consists in their employment in the coal-mines at Charleroi, whither many migrated after the War from the Ruhr district, to which they had been brought from Poland during the War by the German Government, and where they were joined by other Jews from Poland, Lithuania, Russia, and Rumania.<sup>2</sup> There are also Jewish coal-miners in Russia, namely at Lugansk and in the Donetz Basin.

The emigrants from East Europe who have settled in such large numbers in America and England during the last forty-five years have brought with them the industries in which they were engaged in their native lands, namely, tailoring, shoe-making, cabinet-making, cigarette-making, cap-making, and furriery, though they and, of course, their native fellow-Jews, are also represented in all other trades. It is mainly due to them that these industries have acquired such importance in these countries. In the United States 70 per cent of all Jewish workers are in the clothing industry. The sweating conditions that prevailed in the tailoring trade thirty years ago have been completely abolished by the immigrant Jews, and the workers now receive an adequate wage. The amount invested in the clothing business is over 900 million dollars ; large sections of the business quarter of New York, as well as of Chicago, Philadelphia, Rochester, Cleveland, and other big cities, are occupied by Jewish clothiers : and there are 180,000 members in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, mostly Jews. A kindred organization is the International Ladies' Garment Workers, with a membership of 140,000, likewise mostly Jews, and both unions foster not merely the economic but also the social and intellectual interests of their members. There is also considerable Jewish activity in building in New York and other large cities, and there is said to be " more than an accidental connection between the tremendous rise of real estate values in New York City since the 'nineties and the expansion of the Jewish community."<sup>3</sup> The Jews have practically rebuilt the most important parts of New York, replacing the dilapidated homes of an earlier aristocracy with gigantic office-buildings and raising magnificent hotels. " The people that forty centuries ago built Pithom and Rameses and the pyramids of Egypt,

<sup>1</sup> Of the 12,000 workers in the diamond industry in Antwerp Jews form one-third, and of the 6000 workers in Amsterdam Jews form over one-half.

<sup>2</sup> *Wiener Morgen-Zeitung*, August 22, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> *The Jews in the Making of America*, by George Cohen (Stratford Co., Boston, 1924).

symbols of a vanished glory and greatness, are still actively building ; this time they are erecting the massive monuments of a twentieth-century industrial and mechanical civilization.”<sup>1</sup> Among these builders the most prominent is Mr. Louis J. Horowitz, who, arriving in America as a Polish immigrant of seventeen, rose to be president of the Thompson-Starrett Company, the largest builder of skyscrapers in the world, numbering among his many achievements the Equitable Building, forty-two stories high, and the Woolworth Building, the tallest structure in the world.

In England one-third of the Russian and Polish Jews were estimated a quarter of a century ago to be in the clothing industry,<sup>2</sup> an estimate that probably also holds good to-day. To them is entirely due the introduction of the ladies’ jacket and mantle trade. A St. Paul’s Churchyard mantle-maker formerly imported £100,000 worth of mantles from Berlin annually, all made of German material, but foreign Jews enabled him to start a factory in which the whole of the work was done in London of British material, with resulting benefits to his business.<sup>3</sup> The centres of the tailoring trade are London, Manchester, and Leeds, whilst the Manchester waterproof-garment industry is also in Jewish hands. The influx of Jewish immigrants into the English labour market before 1914 gave rise to the complaint that they lowered the rate of wages and took the bread out of the mouth of the native workmen, but the investigations that were made into the question showed the charge to be groundless. As the Jew has created his own industries there is practically no competition with the Gentile workman in the labour market, Jew and Gentile working, as Mr. Sidney Webb has put it, “in water-tight compartments.” A similar charge of undercutting the rate of wages was made in America, but the Immigration Commission after a study of the earnings of more than half a million employees in mines and manufactures, discovered no evidence that immigrants had been hired for less than the prevailing rate of wages. On the contrary, Dr. Hourwich has shown that the average wage is higher in those parts of the United States where there is a larger percentage of foreign-born workmen, that there has been a gradual reduction of the working-day during the past decade in the state most affected—New York—and that the proportion

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Jew in London*, by C. Russell and H. S. Lewis (Fisher Unwin, 1901).

<sup>3</sup> Letter by Mr. Charles H. L. Emanuel in *Islington Daily Gazette*, February 15, 1926.

of children employed in factories is greatest in the states where there is practically no immigrant population.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish immigrant constantly strives to improve his position and to become his own master, not only because he brings his wife and children to join him at the earliest opportunity, but because he has a higher standard of life than the native workman. Thousands of such immigrants have risen to wealthy and commanding positions in the economic world not only in the United States and England, but also in Canada, South Africa, and Australia—indeed, wherever there is freedom of opportunity under a just Government. But it is not only in the more traditional industries that Jews are prominent. No contemporary record of their economic activities in England can fail to point out their notable contributions in two widely different domains: on the one hand, the substantial improvement in the amenities of public comfort due to the model restaurants and tea-shops of Messrs. Lyons & Co., and, on the other hand, the distinguished services to the furtherance of chemical industries rendered by the versatile Lord Melchett, the head of Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited, which is the largest industrial combine in the British Empire.

The return of the Jews to the land during the nineteenth century affords a refutation of the oft-recurring charge that, having been cut off from the soil and urbanized for so many centuries, they cannot adapt themselves to rural pursuits. There are now about 400,000 Jewish souls living by farming and forestry in the Old and in the New World, and the number is increasing every year. The return to the land began in Russia in 1804, when Alexander I passed a law permitting the settlement and purchase of land by Jews in New and Southern Russia, and presented them with 80,000 acres in the province of Kherson. Under the reign of his successor, Nicholas I, further colonies were established by private benevolence in the provinces of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav, and their number rose to 371 in 1865, when the Government repented of its goodwill and prohibited the creation of fresh Jewish colonies. In the 'seventies the Government took nearly 90,000 acres away from the Jewish colonies in the provinces of Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia, and Tchernigov, and in 1882 the famous May Laws forbade Jews to buy or rent land in rural areas in the fifteen provinces of West Russia, a prohibition that was extended to Poland in 1891. The position of the Jewish farmer in Russia would then have been seriously menaced but for the

<sup>1</sup> I. A. Hourwich, *Immigration and Labour* (Putnam, 1913).



material and financial assistance rendered by the Jewish Colonization Association, which also maintains a staff of travelling agriculturists and five agricultural schools.

Previous to the Great War there were 296 Jewish colonies (apart from those in Poland), comprising 305,000 acres,<sup>1</sup> and they were so firmly established that, despite all the vicissitudes to which they were subjected both during and after the hostilities, they nevertheless, by 1923, had a working population equivalent to 87 per cent of their pre-War strength. In 1924 a new movement for the settlement of the Jews on the land was inaugurated by the Soviet Government, prompted by the desire to provide productive employment for the hundreds of thousands who had been reduced to beggary by the suppression of private trade. The Government promulgated a scheme for the settlement of 10,000 Jewish families a year for a period of ten years on free land expropriated from large landowners, and with the financial assistance of Jewish philanthropic organizations in other countries, mainly America. During the last three years an area of 670,000 acres has been allotted for this purpose, bringing the total amount of land held by Jews in Russia to about 1,000,000 acres.<sup>2</sup> Half of the new land is situated in the Ukraine, one-fifth in the Crimea, and the rest in White Russia and other parts. During the last three years 35,000 Jews have been established as farmers in 140 new settlements, thus raising the number of Jewish peasants to 170,000<sup>3</sup>; those in White Russia are engaged in collective cultivation, whilst those in other regions pursue individualist methods. A new region for Jewish colonization selected by the Government is Bureya, in Siberia, but its inclement climate and remote situation are likely to deter any but the hardiest spirits from treking thither. Towards the cost of carrying out these settlement schemes the Soviet Government has undertaken to provide 10 million dollars over a period of 10 years, whilst a similar amount is being raised by the American Joint Distribution Committee,<sup>4</sup> whose appeals for the purpose have formed the subject of the keenest controversy not only in America but also in many other parts of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Rubinow, *Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia*, p. 508.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. Singalovsky, *Jewish Chronicle Supplement*, February 24, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. James N. Rosenberg, Chairman of the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (Agro. Joint), about 125,000 Jews from the cities have been settled on the land at a cost to American Jewry of less than 6 million dollars (*Jew. Tel. Agcy. Bulletin*, June 16, 1928), but his estimate appears rather excessive.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Julius Rosenwald alone has contributed 5 million dollars.

In Poland, apart from the agricultural colonies previously existing, many Jews, during the War, were forced by the German Occupation authorities to settle on the land abandoned by the Polish farmers, and thus the number now engaged in agriculture is much larger than it was fourteen years ago. The principal districts in Congress Poland containing Jewish agricultural estates are Volhynia, Vilna, Grodno, and Pinsk, whilst in Galicia the largest holdings are in the neighbourhood of Lemberg, Tarnopol, and Stanislaw. The total area of agricultural land in Jewish ownership is 154,557 hectares. A census taken by the "Ort" in 1920 in 40 localities of the Vilna district showed that 30 per cent of the Jewish population, namely, 1300 families ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as many as before the War), were engaged in agriculture, whilst in 48 localities of the Grodno province 17,000 Jews ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  times as many as before the War) were thus employed. In the Polish region of White Russia there are 53 Jewish farm-settlements, and in Galicia, where 2 per cent of the tillable ground is in Jewish hands (a decrease from 2.9 per cent in 1910), there is an agricultural school at Slobodka-Lesna, near Kolomea, which has been maintained since 1899 by the Jewish Colonization Association, which also has a similar school at Czenstochova. Jewish agriculture in Poland is greatly helped by 12 co-operative societies.

In Rumania the number of Jews engaged in farming and forestry is considerably greater than it was before the War, as a result of the annexation of the Bukovina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia. In the Bukovina 800 Jewish families are engaged in the cultivation of a total of 1000 acres,<sup>1</sup> whilst in Bessarabia there is an area of 50,000 acres held by 6000 families, most of whom are devoted to the growing of vines and tobacco. In Lithuania there are 1800 Jewish families settled on 8000 hectares: the Jewish vegetable gardeners supply three-fourths of the army's requirements, and export cucumbers to Germany and Latvia for £40,000 per annum. The amount of Jewish agriculture in other parts of Europe is almost insignificant. In Germany, according to the census of 1907, there were 3746 Jews engaged in farming, forestry, hunting, and fishing, forming 1.30 per cent of the Jewish population<sup>2</sup>; and there is an agricultural school at Ahlem, near Hanover, founded in 1893 by Moritz Simon with an endowment of £150,000. In Italy less than one-half per cent of the Jews are occupied as

<sup>1</sup> In the nineties of last century there were 2000 Jewish farmers in the Bukovina, but their number has been greatly reduced by the War.

<sup>2</sup> Segall, pp. 30 and 58.

farmers, whilst in Hungary there are a great number of Jewish tenant-farmers who cultivate the estates of Christian land-owners.

The most notable advance in Jewish agriculture during the last fifty years has taken place in America and Palestine, owing partly to the persecutions in Russia and partly to the enthusiasm for the re-establishment of the Jewish nation. The pogroms of 1881 caused an emigration *en masse* from Russia, and both there and in other countries the cry arose that the Jews could find the only final relief from their sufferings by re-settling upon the soil of the Holy Land. The great bulk of the emigrants, however, wended their way not to the ancient but to the modern land of promise, and unsuccessful attempts to found agricultural colonies were made in the United States and Canada in the early 'eighties. The real history of Jewish agriculture in the New World began in 1891, when Baron Maurice de Hirsch, moved by a fresh eruption of massacre in Russia, resolved to devote his fortune to the relief of his brethren by transplanting them to America and settling them upon the land. He founded the Jewish Colonization Association as an English company with a capital of £2,000,000, which was increased upon his death by a further £9,000,000. The Association devoted itself in the first place to the settlement of Russian Jews in the Argentine, but the unfitness of most of the emigrants for agricultural life proved a hindrance to the early success of its efforts. After thirty-seven years of activity it has established 8 colonies in the Argentine, comprising now a population of 5744 Jewish families (33,084 souls), of whom only 3563 families (19,732 souls) are those of colonists—a result that, compared with the enormous sums expended on the enterprise, can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. The total area colonized until now in the Argentine is 373,272 hectares, of which 130,939 hectares belong to free colonists or full owners of their plots. The colonists grow wheat, flax, barley, corn, oats, tobacco, and vegetables, they engage in cattle-rearing and dairying, and have over 500,000 head of live-stock, comprising cattle, sheep, horses, and other animals. But although the extent of Jewish colonization is small in relation to the money and labour devoted to it, the colonists themselves appear on the whole to have reached a sound position, as they have been able to pay the interest and the amortization on the loans advanced to them by the Colonization Association. The latter body also started colonizing in Brazil in 1904, and possesses there 240,000 acres, of which 100,000 are covered with timber, but

the Jewish farming population so far numbers only 3100 souls.

A more gratifying and promising picture is presented by the Jewish farmers in the United States and Canada, most of whom have created their own settlements, though they have also received assistance from the "Ica" and other organizations established with the funds of Baron de Hirsch. In the United States there are 109,000 Jews living by agriculture, and owning one million acres distributed among all the states of the Union, their real and personal property having a total value of 175 million dollars. They have been greatly helped by the Jewish Agricultural Society of New York, which, in the twenty-eight years of its activity, has granted loans aggregating 5,710,000 dollars, with a loss not exceeding 5 per cent. The largest cattle-raiser in Kentucky, the "Grape King" in the Cleveland district, one of the largest tobacco-growers in Connecticut River valley, and one of the largest wheat-farmers in Kansas all started their careers in America as poor Russian immigrants.<sup>1</sup> In Canada, where the first attempt to found a Jewish agricultural colony by immigrants from Russia and Rumania was made in 1884 in Manitoba, the Jewish farming population comprises 3500 souls and owns 150,000 acres. There are 700 independent Jewish farmers, who are engaged in wheat-growing in Saskatchewan, mixed farming in Alberta, gardening in Manitoba, and dairying in the eastern provinces. Their real estate value is estimated at 4,500,000 dollars, and the yearly crop produced at 1,000,000 dollars.<sup>2</sup> Many Jews are also engaged in farming in other English-speaking countries, particularly South Africa, where they grow cereals, fruit, vegetables, and tobacco,<sup>3</sup> Australia, where two farm settlements have been established by Russian Jews in Victoria, and New Zealand.

Far more significant for the future of the Jews as a nation is the growth of the colonization movement in Palestine. In 1870 the Agricultural School at Mikveh Israel ("Hope of Israel"), near Jaffa, was founded by the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" for the training of the Jewish youth of the Orient and of Eastern Europe in agriculture; but this school was of little practical use as long as the Jews had no land of their

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, February, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> "The Jews of Canada," in the *American Jewish Year-Book*, 5686.

<sup>3</sup> Both the "Potato King" and the "Mealie King" (who produces 100,000 bags of maize a year) of South Africa are Jews. See article in *The Zionist Record* (Johannesburg), September 7, 1928.



THE COLONY OF REHOBOTH IN PALESTINE



own in Palestine. Nine years later a number of Jews of Jerusalem attempted to found a colony near the Arab village Mulabbis in the Plain of Sharon, which they called Petach Tikvah ("Gate of Hope"), but owing to the fever spread by the rain-sodden soil they had to abandon the attempt until 1882, when they returned, reinforced by well-to-do emigrants from Russia. The marshy land of Petach Tikvah was then planted with eucalyptus trees and the sanitary conditions improved, but the lack of means for the purchase of implements and other equipment necessitated aid from abroad. It was in the same year, 1882, that a "Society for the Support of Jewish Agriculturists and Artisans in Palestine," known as the "Choveve Zion" ("Lovers of Zion"), was founded in Odessa, and societies with similar objects arose in Germany, Rumania, England, and other countries. The Odessa society at once started operations, and the recolonization of Palestine thus really dates from 1882. Not only was the existence of the first, and so far the largest colony, Petach Tikvah, assured in this year, but three other important colonies in the three different districts of Palestine, Rishon-le-Zion in Judæa, Zichron Jacob in Samaria, and Rosh Pinah in Galilee, were founded by people who immigrated into Palestine in large numbers from Russia, Poland, and Rumania, in consequence of the Jewish persecutions in 1881-82.<sup>1</sup> These pioneer colonies, however, had to struggle against serious privations and might have succumbed had it not been for the munificent support of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, of Paris, who from 1883 devoted considerable funds to the purchase of land and the promotion of Jewish colonization in Palestine. The benevolence of "the Baron," as he was affectionately called, had a somewhat demoralizing effect upon the colonists, as their reliance upon his aid deprived them of a sense of responsibility and of all perseverance. Hence he found it necessary afterwards to pull his purse-strings tight, and in 1910 he transferred the administration of his colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association, since when they have been able to pay their way and to repay some of their old debts. The Palestinian Commission of the Association was replaced in 1924 by a newly constituted body, the Palestinian Jewish Colonization Association (Edmond de Rothschild's Foundation), which is commonly known, for short, as the "Pica."

The most important agency in the development of agricultural colonization in Palestine is the Zionist Organization,

<sup>1</sup> *Die jüdischen Kolonien Palästinas*, by Jesaias Press (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1912), p. 4.

which has contributed to the increase of land in Jewish possession, introduced up-to-date and scientific methods of cultivation, advanced agrarian loans, promoted afforestation, and established a large number of settlements, some on an individualist and others on a collective basis. Of the 104 rural settlements in various parts of the country (as compared with 17 in 1901), sixty are controlled and supported by the Zionist Organization; and of the total Jewish agricultural population, which numbers 30,500 souls, one-third are in the Zionist settlements. The major part of the Zionist colonization dates only from 1921, and its most conspicuous feature consists of the development of the Valley of Jezreel, which, at the beginning of the British Administration, contained hardly a single Jew, but is now covered with a number of thriving Jewish villages. According to a census of Jewish agriculture in Palestine taken in 1927 by the Zionist Executive, the total area in Jewish possession is over one million dunams,<sup>1</sup> of which the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association holds 429,800 dunams, the Jewish National Fund 214,000 dunams, and the American Zion Commonwealth 151,000 dunams, the rest consisting of communal property, concessions, and individual property. The total area operated by farmers is 463,000 dunams (of which 79,214 are under plantation and 251,106 are crop-land), the area under vines comprises 21,000 dunams, and the area under oranges 18,000 dunams.<sup>2</sup>

Outside Palestine the extent of Jewish agriculture in the Orient is rather insignificant, being confined mainly to the three small settlements in Cyprus founded in 1897 by the Jewish Colonization Association, and the colony of Or-Jehuda, near Smyrna, which was established in 1899 by the same Association.

The last important sphere of activity in which Jews are represented and to which they have devoted themselves in increasing numbers since their civil and political emancipation, is that comprising the liberal professions and Government service. The special circumstances that have favoured their advance in this sphere are their concentration in towns, their comfortable social position, and their thirst for higher education. It is significant that in Germany, where the Jews have attained such a high level of prosperity by means of business, most of the Jewish merchants devote their sons to the learned profes-

<sup>1</sup> 1 dunam=approx.  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre.

<sup>2</sup> See *Memorandum on the Development of the Jewish National Home, 1927-28, submitted by the Zionist Organization to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for the Information of the Permanent Mandates Commission*, June, 1928.



sions, particularly those of law and medicine ; whilst in England and America, too, there is a marked tendency on the part of former immigrants who have managed to secure a competence as tradespeople or artisans, to put their sons into these professions. The pursuit of this tendency, in the face of the knowledge that the income from a profession is more precarious than that from business or industry, belies the charge that is often made that Jews are wholly given to money-making, and shows that ideal motives also largely enter into their choice of a career. Whilst the practice of law and medicine enjoys the most popularity, an increasing number of Jews are found in the ranks of civil service employees, teachers, journalists, artists, actors, musicians, dentists, chemists, and engineers. In Germany the percentage of Jews in Government service and the liberal professions rose from 6·14 to 6·54 in the period 1895-1907, whereas the percentage of the general population in these professions declined from 6·22 to 5·75 in the same period.<sup>1</sup> The prevalence of anti-Semitism formerly acted as a check upon the increase of Jews in Government positions and as university professors, though the waters of baptism would at once have removed their only blemish. Before the War the Jews in Germany, who formed only one per cent of the population, constituted 1·93 per cent of the high Government officials and 2·5 per cent of the university ordinary professors,<sup>2</sup> but these proportions have doubtless appreciably risen in consequence of the more liberal spirit that has prevailed since the creation of the Republic. It was also calculated before the War that Jews formed 15 per cent of the lawyers and 6 per cent of the doctors in Germany, and these proportions probably still hold good. In Austria 8·62 per cent of the Jews are in this sphere of activity (as compared with 14·12 per cent among non-Jews), their participation in the liberal professions being enormously high. In Hungary they formed 17·9 per cent of the authors and scholars, 39·6 per cent of the journalists, 20 per cent of the artists (musicians, painters, etc.), and 20·1 per cent of the actors.<sup>3</sup> Far more favourable conditions in this sphere were found in Italy, where 18·67 per cent of the Jews were engaged in the civil service and the liberal professions, as compared with only 6·42 per cent of the general population,<sup>4</sup> and these conditions have probably remained unaffected for the most part under the Fascist regime. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Segall, pp. 28-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Neue Jüdische Korrespondenz*, January 13, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie u. Stat. der Juden*, January, 1905.

the Jews in Poland, although forming 14 per cent of the population, provide less than 1 per cent of the State employees, and a somewhat similar disparity is found in Rumania. The country in which the Jews constitute the highest percentage of the civil service is Soviet Russia, namely 28 per cent, a fact due to their relatively higher education as compared with that of the general population.

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## CHAPTER II

### RICHERS AND POVERTY

The legendary wealth of the Jew—Material prosperity in Western countries—Effects of the Great War in America, England, Germany, and Austria—Poverty of the majority of Jewry : consequences of the War—Economic distress in Poland and Russia—Relief measures.

THE legend of the wealth of the Jews has persisted so obstinately for centuries that there is little wonder that it is still accepted as a fact. It owes its origin to the prominent part they have played as traders in money in the past, whether as moneylenders, money-changers, or financiers ; and it has been strengthened in modern times by their predominance in commercial pursuits in Western Europe, and their occasionally high representation on the stock exchanges of the Continent. Two other factors have contributed to the popular delusion : the fabulous millions of the Rothschilds, which are made to throw a reflected splendour upon the entire race, and the frequent occurrence of moneyed Jews in the plays and novels of nearly every European literature, particularly of English literature, whose pages, from Shakespeare to Galsworthy, have been lavishly strewn with Jewish gold. It is probably this literary factor that is responsible for the first impression of Jewish wealth received by the Gentile, and it would be impossible to exaggerate the mischief done by the reading of *The Merchant of Venice* in elementary schools, where the plastic minds of young children are impressed with the misunderstood figure of Shylock crouching over his ducats. The conception acquired in childhood grows into an obsession or prejudice which is fostered later by every circumstance, however trivial, that seems to accord with it, and becomes with time more and more difficult to eradicate ; and its widespread currency is unquestionably one of the causes of the envy and hostility to which the Jewish people is exposed. The truth is, that there are indeed rich Jews, but they are comparatively very few in number ; the Jewish people in the mass is the poorest on earth. It is high time that this myth of Jewish wealth should be exploded and the terrible fact of Jewish poverty be thoroughly realized.

People in Western Europe or America, who are familiar with prosperous Jewish business-houses in their leading cities, who are faced in the newspapers with big Jewish donations at the head of subscription lists for philanthropic causes, and who read ever and again of some handsome Jewish benefaction for a municipal or national object, may perhaps be reluctant to believe that all these phenomena are anything but tokens of bounteous prosperity. The occurrence of such phenomena is undeniable, but they must not be regarded as characteristic of the people as a whole: they are characteristic only of a very small minority. The overwhelming mass of Jewry has a hard fight for mere existence and is an utter stranger to the comforts of life. Jews who have been settled in Western Europe or America for at least twenty years have for the most part attained a competence, if not actual wealth, and a good proportion of those domiciled there even for not more than ten years have secured a comfortable livelihood; but the vast majority of the immigrants of recent years have to toil hard and long to make ends meet, and during the early period of their struggle they are partly dependent on charity. Indeed, with the exception of about two or three per cent, the recipients of charity from the communal coffers consist entirely of more or less recent settlers. The political freedom enjoyed by the Jews in Western Europe during the last seventy years has greatly favoured their economic progress, and the same cause, operating much earlier, has undoubtedly facilitated their general prosperity in America. But other factors have also played an important part in their material advancement: their participation to a great extent in mercantile pursuits, and in an increasing measure in professions, their relatively small families, and their unflagging perseverance. Not only have they a better opportunity of getting on quickly in commerce than in domestic industries or handicrafts, but they are able to continue their activity to a more advanced age; at sixty they are still hale enough to reap the benefit of a lifetime's experience in business or to continue practising their profession, whereas at that age, if employed in a trade, they would be bent and broken and have to lay down their tools. The smallness of most of the native Jewish families in the Western world places a comparatively lighter burden upon the father than in Eastern Europe, where a family with eight or ten children is quite normal; not only has the father fewer to maintain, but his support is needed for a shorter period. And an additional circumstance, which is of no small signifi-

cance when regarded in the light of conditions in Eastern Europe, is that the Jew in the West, for the most part, does not allow himself to be interrupted by the Sabbath in the pursuit of his business.

The economic welfare of present-day Jewry has been largely determined by the Great War, since the preponderating mass are domiciled in those countries that have been most affected, either for good or ill, by that terrible visitation. Thus, in the United States, which has prospered immensely through the afflictions of Europe, the Jews have shared in the material advancement of their fellow-citizens, whilst in the belligerent countries of Europe they have suffered like their neighbours, or, rather, much more seriously. If we wish to have a reliable index to the rise or fall of material welfare, we shall find it in the numbers of those who apply for relief to Jewish philanthropic organizations. In the United States and England, for which we have accurate statistics, there has been an appreciable rise in prosperity during the last ten years; in Central and Eastern Europe, from which there have been ceaseless appeals for financial help during the same period, there has been, for the most part, a steady decline, broken only by chronic catastrophes.

To illustrate the improvement in the material conditions of American Jewry it is sufficient to point to the experience of the two large relief societies in Greater New York, namely, the Jewish Social Service Association, which looks after the Jews in Manhattan and Bronx, and the United Jewish Aid Society, which serves those in Brooklyn. The records of the former show a decline in the number of families helped from 8125 in 1902 to 1971 in 1925, whilst those of the latter show a drop from 1831 cases in 1915 to 668 in 1924. This advance in material welfare is all the more striking as it has occurred during the period in which the Jewish population of Greater New York has been practically doubled, and despite the fact that a large portion of this accretion has consisted of poor immigrants.<sup>1</sup> This upward trend is due largely to the improvement of general economic conditions in the United States, as well as to progressive social legislation, mutual aid agencies, a lower birth-rate, and—in recent years—a very considerable diminution of immigration. A similar rise in material welfare is found in London, where the number of cases assisted by the Jewish Board of Guardians has steadily fallen from 4859 in 1909 to

<sup>1</sup> "The Passing of Poverty," by H. Kaplan in *The Menorah Journal*, January, 1928.

2160 in 1926, an almost corresponding decline occurring in the new cases in that period, namely, from 1062 to 574. On the other hand, the growth of wealth among the richer class in New York Jewry has not kept pace with the soaring fortunes of the general community. In 1925 there were 199 millionaires in New York paying at least 100,000 dollars in income-tax, but that number contained only 19 Jews,<sup>1</sup> which is far below the Jewish ratio of the population, estimated at about 28 per cent.

Turning now to the Continent, we find that the Jews in Germany, who, for the most part, enjoyed a fair amount of prosperity before the War, have since been reduced in their fortunes. Professor Sombart, in 1911, compiled a list of thirty towns in Germany, several of them large and important, in which the percentage of the total income-tax revenue contributed by the Jews was considerably higher than their percentage of the local population.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in Berlin they formed only 5.06 per cent of the inhabitants, but contributed 30.77 per cent of the income-tax revenue; in Breslau, although only 4.3 per cent of the population, they owned 20.3 per cent of the total income of the tax-payers; and in Frankfort-on-the-Main, where they constituted 7 per cent of the population, they possessed 20.8 per cent of the total income of the tax-payers. No such statistics are available for the period since the War, but whatever evidence there is goes to show that, apart from certain notable exceptions, there has been a shrinkage in Jewish wealth. Throughout the War the Jews in Germany, like their brethren in other countries, were accused of profiteering, but even a cursory examination of the economic conditions of the time shows that it was impossible for them to have secured such fortunes as fell into the lap of their Christian neighbours. Enormous profits were made mainly by the manufacture of ammunition and kindred war industries, in which Jews were not represented. There was no Jewish firm whose earnings could compare with those of Krupp, which jumped from 33.9 million marks in 1913 to 68.5 million in 1914, or even with those of Benz & Company, which spurted from 5 million marks in 1913 to 13 million in 1915. The two large concerns under Jewish control, the Hamburg-America Steamship Company and the General Electric Company, played a subordinate part in the War.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the armament industries,

<sup>1</sup> *The World Almanac*, 1925, p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> See *Jüdische Weltfinanz?* by Richard Lewinsohn (Hoffmann and Campe, Berlin), pp. 46-60.

the biggest profits were made by those who succeeded in importing foreign raw materials for war purposes, and in this lucrative sphere the most successful operators were Hugo Stinnes and Otto Wolff, both non-Jews. Stinnes enjoyed the most intimate relations with the Supreme War Command and the Foreign Office, which he energetically exploited for his personal gain, but had there been any Jew who perpetrated even one-tenth of the transactions of that financial adventurer he would have brought down the fury of all Germany upon the Jewish people. During the inflation period that followed the War there were indeed many Jews who made big profits by financial manipulations, both in Germany and Austria, but their fall was swifter than their rise. Siegmund Bosel and Camillo Castiglioni were once all-powerful in international finance, but their wealth shrank overnight to a shadow.<sup>1</sup> Those who made the most money during the inflation period were not the Jews, who were mainly engaged in commercial and professional pursuits, but the non-Jews, who are mainly manufacturers and produce articles of intrinsic value. The distress that overtook large numbers of Jews in Germany, as well as in Austria, was painfully and convincingly demonstrated by the abnormally high rate of suicide in their midst. In Prussia the rate of suicide among them increased from 32.2 per 100,000 during 1903-13 to 41.6 during 1919-23, whilst in Saxony the rate in the latter period was also 41.6 for Jews, as compared with 10.5 for Catholics and 25.0 for Protestants. In Vienna the distress of the Jews, especially of the middle class, in recent years has manifested itself not only in bankruptcies and suicides, but also in formal withdrawal from the Jewish community, owing to the difficulty of paying the communal tax. From 1920 to 1927 over 10,000 Jews left the Vienna community, most of whom declared themselves *confessionslos*—a pretty sure indication that the step was prompted in the majority of cases not by religious but by economic motives.

A more sombre spectacle presents itself when we survey the conditions in Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, which contain more than two-thirds of the world's Jewry. Not only are these regions characterized for the most part by an inferior degree of economic development, but, so far as Eastern Europe is concerned, the ravages of war have been far more destructive and lasting there than in other parts. Although ten years have already elapsed since the end

<sup>1</sup> See *Der Alte u. der Neue Reichtum*, by E. Neckarsulmer (Fontane & Co., Berlin). Castiglioni, the son of a Rabbi, adopted Christianity in 1912.

of the War, the Jews inhabiting the vast and variegated territories of Eastern Europe, which have experienced such grave political and social upheavals, have not yet recovered from the succession of outrages to which they have been particularly subjected. Had they suffered only in the same degree as their Christian neighbours and received the same measure of State aid, their plight would have been much easier to bear. But they suffered during the War as Jews in addition to their lot as belligerents, and since the War they have been exposed to a constant cycle of disasters and catastrophes. A cursory review of the last fourteen years will suffice to show with what destructive and surreptitious forces they have had to fight. They were driven by hundreds of thousands from their homes in the Russian Pale of Settlement to the interior of the country ; they were despoiled alternately by the contending armies on the Eastern front ; they were victims of countless pogroms in Russia and Poland, and of bestial excesses in Hungary, Rumania, and Czecho-Slovakia, in which repeated impoverishment was the least of their afflictions ; they were affected by the economic revolution in Russia more seriously than any other people, since so vast a proportion of their number had been engaged in trade ; they were the prey of famine in the Ukraine from 1921 to 1923, when tens of thousands died of starvation ; they were overwhelmed by the great fire in Salonica in 1917, which destroyed the Jewish quarter, and by the almost equally devastating fire in Smyrna, in 1922 ; and they sustained tremendous losses through the earthquakes in Bulgaria, in 1928, which reduced several communities to beggary. And, in addition to all these calamities, due either to the evil in man or to the inexorable cruelty of nature, they have been made the helpless sport of economic legislation throughout the greater part of Central and Eastern Europe, which has been designed to hamper them in their activities and at the same time to impose upon them—the commercial and industrial element—a disproportionately large share of the burden of taxation. With such a catalogue of misfortunes the wonder is not that the Jews cannot attain even the shadow of prosperity, but that they manage to exist at all. Yet despite all these fatal obstacles to material welfare, they bravely uphold the sanctity of the Sabbath and are obliged to rest two days in the week, whereon they are able to reflect more fully upon the mysteries of Providence.

The causes and extent of the poverty in Poland, which contains the largest Jewish community in Europe, will become



manifest enough if we examine the incidence of taxation, the state of trade, and the nature of the anti-Jewish legislation. Poland maintains a large army, upon which she spends a sum equivalent to three times the amount of money in circulation, and her income-tax revenue is divided in an unjust proportion between town and country. The rural population, forming three-fourths of the total population, pays less than half of the total revenue, whilst the balance is contributed by the towns, in which the Jews form a third of the inhabitants. Thus, although the Jews constitute only one-tenth of the total population, they pay one-sixth of the State's income. If they were bountifully endowed with riches, this apportionment of taxes, however inequitable, might yet be borne; but they neither possess such wealth nor even the means of acquiring it. As long as Poland formed part of the Russian Empire her industries, in which such a large proportion of Jews were engaged, flourished and found an adequate outlet within the extensive frontiers of the Empire; but Poland as an independent State, having lost the Russian market, has an excess of factories, for the products of which she cannot find sufficient buyers. Hence large numbers of factories have had to be closed. When a deputation of Jewish manufacturers from Bialystok waited a few years ago upon M. Grabski, then Finance Minister, to seek relief in their distress, he declared that Poland must not have too many factories, and that the Government would be content if two-thirds of the factories in Bialystok would be closed and the workers would go back to the country or emigrate.

When trade depression in Poland was at its lowest, a couple of years ago, the number of Jewish workers without employment was reported to be as high as 80 per cent (of a total of 70,000), as compared with only 40 per cent of the non-Jewish workers, but whilst the great majority of the latter received Government relief comparatively few Jewish workers—less than 10 per cent—were so favoured.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this discrimination was that the dole was given only to those working in a factory, or in an establishment employing more than five people, who had worked in such a factory for twenty consecutive weeks before losing their employment. Unfortunately the Jewish workers are employed in the smaller establishments, most of which have fewer than five employees, or in home

<sup>1</sup> This account is taken from a report by Dr. Bernhard Kahn, European Director of the American Joint Distribution Committee, who made an exhaustive tour of Poland in 1926.

industries, and not many could point to a record of work extending over twenty consecutive weeks. Thus, in Lodz, out of a total of 75,000 unemployed workers 58,000 received Government aid, but of the 15,000 Jewish unemployed only 800 received it. The Jewish artisans, numbering 120,000 in all Poland, and comprising with their families about 25 per cent of the Jewish population, were in an equally sorry plight, for 80 per cent of them were without work, as compared with 50 per cent of the non-Jewish artisans, the reason for this difference being that the latter were accorded preference in the distribution of public works. In the small town of Brzeziny, where all the Jewish inhabitants are tailors, all were idle, and the whole population of 1200 Jews were starving. Moreover, in Warsaw 30,000 trading licences held by Jews were not renewed, which meant that a corresponding number of stores had to be closed; in Lodz 6000 licences were not renewed, in Vilna 4000, in Bialystok 3000, and in Lemberg also 3000.

This economic distress spread to other classes of the Jewish population—to the manufacturers, factory-owners, and merchants, of whom large numbers had to close down, with the inevitable corollary that the intellectual class was also brought within the zone of privation. The catastrophe has been aggravated by the anti-Semitic policy of the Government in making State monopolies out of the tobacco, salt, and match industries, and threatening to eject the large number of Jews who had been occupied in them and to fill their places with Poles—a policy that will deprive 30,000 Jewish families of their means of subsistence.<sup>1</sup> To add to their perplexity the Jews had to continue supporting their 1200 schools with 150,000 pupils, and their orphan asylums with 20,000 inmates. The position at the time was summed up by the statement that one-third of the Jewish population were without income of any kind and were starving, that another third had only a very small income or enough savings left to enable them with the strictest economy to keep body and soul together, and that the remainder, with a greatly diminished income, had been reduced to a much lower standard of life. The economic position has somewhat improved since then, thanks partly to the financial assistance provided by foreign Jewish philanthropic organizations (particularly the American Joint Distribution Committee),

<sup>1</sup> The enforcement of the Polish Concessions Law, whereby licences for the sale of Government monopoly articles will be transferred to wounded ex-soldiers and their dependents, has been postponed to 1931 (*Bulletin of Jewish Telegraph Agency*, November 16, 1928).

but the effects of this widespread calamity of 1926 cannot be wiped out in a couple of years.

An equally distressing spectacle is presented by the conditions in Russia, which are the resultant effect of a series of cataclysmic movements operating over a period of twelve years: the brutal evacuation of half a million Jews from the Tsarist Pale of Settlement to the interior of the country, the appalling destruction of property during the War, the twofold revolution of 1917, the pogroms in the Ukraine unparalleled in extent and effects, and the pest of famine in the self-same region. It would be difficult to determine which of these calamities has contributed most to the wretched plight of the Jews, but it is not difficult to point to the obstacle that prevents them from extricating themselves therefrom. It consists in the Bolshevik regime, whose economic policy has hit them far more severely than any other section of the vast population of the country. The political revolution brought the Jews the civil liberty for which they had groaned for centuries, but the economic revolution has rendered it a far more trying problem for them to gain a living than under the most grinding laws of the Tsars. For the great mass of the Jews, until the advent of the Soviet Government, were either traders or small artisans, and as the Government abolished private trade and organized large-scale State industries as well as co-operative retail distribution direct to peasant villages, the Jews were deprived of their livelihood. For a short period it seemed as if they might be able to regain their positions. That was from the spring of 1921, when the "New Economic Policy," commonly called "Nep," was introduced, which restored legality to private commerce and industry, but this relief was but short-lived owing to the heavy taxation imposed upon private commercial and industrial establishments. By the end of 1923 the taxes had grown so heavy that many industries collapsed beneath them, and simultaneously the small Jewish trader found his business increasingly paralysed by the State's encouragement of consumers' and producers' co-operatives.<sup>1</sup> The artisan is in a somewhat better position than the trader, as the Bolsheviks regard him as a potential recruit for the State factories, and consequently as a possible ally.

The economic policy of the Soviet Government, applied with all the rigour of a new religion, has caused widespread unemployment among the Jews. In Berditcheff, which has a Jewish

<sup>1</sup> See "The Jews in Soviet Russia," by A. Yarmolinsky, in *The Menorah Journal*, June, 1928.

population of 30,000, there were registered at the Labour Exchange, according to a recent report, 3000 unemployed Jewish workers, many of whom had done no work for the past three years, a state of affairs that may be regarded as typical of many other Jewish centres.<sup>1</sup> In the interests of State industry the small manufacturer is crushed wherever it is thought necessary, and among the trades which are considered superfluous and undesirable are the tailoring and leather trades, which are traditionally Jewish occupations. Some conception of the extent of the distress that has overtaken the Jews in Russia may be gathered from the fact that in 1924 traders and small producers made up three-fourths of their entire number; and the employees in the private Jewish workshops, realizing the parlous state of their employers, not only refrain from agitating for improved conditions but even beg that the workshops should not be closed. The most convincing proof of Jewish poverty in Russia consists in the large number of those who have registered for removal to the agricultural settlements in Crimea and Siberia. Those who are willing to undergo such privations as sleeping for months under an open sky, living on a minimum of necessities, and undertaking the laborious task of tilling the soil, which they have never done before in their lives, must indeed have reached the verge of despair. Over four-fifths of the new agricultural settlers are recruited from among the petty traders, for whom there is no room in the present economic system, from the artisan class, and from among those who are without any definite occupation.

There are only two ways—short of local legislation—in which this distress can be alleviated: one is by financial aid from without, and the other is by emigration. The former method has been applied, since the days of the War, by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in as generous and comprehensive a manner as its means have allowed. In 1926 this body disbursed nearly 4,500,000 dollars for the relief of Jews in Europe and the East, bringing the total of its disbursements since its establishment to 63,362,000 dollars.<sup>2</sup> Of the money expended in 1926 over 2,000,000 dollars was devoted to agricultural work in Russia and over 800,000 dollars to emergency relief.<sup>3</sup> The American Joint Reconstruction

<sup>1</sup> *Emess*, Moscow, July 11, 1928 (cited in *Bulletin of Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, July 13, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> The amount has since risen to about 80 million dollars.

<sup>3</sup> *American Jewish Year-Book* for 1927-28, p. 77.

Foundation in Berlin transferred during 1926 a total of 722,483 dollars in credits to Jewish institutions in Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Estonia, Greece, and Turkey, whilst in 1927 the Foundation decided to appropriate 1,600,000 dollars for loans to Jewish co-operatives during the next four years, the money to be provided in equal amounts by the Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Colonization Association. Relief work on so large a scale, based entirely on voluntary contributions, is without parallel in Jewish history, and probably also in the history of other peoples. As for the other way, emigration, that is an avenue which was trodden by over a hundred thousand Jews every year before the War, in quest of lands of promise, but which has become painfully narrower during the past decade owing to the increasing measures of self-defence adopted by Western States against the feared competition of the alien immigrant.

## CHAPTER III

### MIGRATIONS

The vastness of Jewish migration—Extent of immigration into the United States—Character of emigration—Occupation of immigrants and material position—Post-War difficulties of migration—Restriction in United States—Immigration into other lands—The hardships of emigration.

THE vast migration of the Jews from Eastern Europe during the last fifty years is one of the most striking events not only in the whole course of their history, but also in the annals of modern times. It can compare in character with their dispersion from Palestine in the first century, and surpasses in point of numbers even their expulsion from Spain in 1492. The principal land to which they have flocked in quest of a refuge from persecution and distress is the United States of America, in which 2,700,000 have settled since 1880. The other lands of refuge, England, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, and Australia, as well as the western countries of the European Continent, Egypt, and Palestine, have also received since that year, upon a moderate computation, about one million Jews; so that in all 3,700,000 Jews, or nearly one-fourth of the entire Jewish population in the world, have permanently transplanted their homes to other lands during the last fifty years.<sup>1</sup> Until 1881 the volume of migration was comparatively small. In the fifty years from 1821 to 1870 only 7550 Jews from Russia entered the United States, though in the next decade the total amounted to 41,057.<sup>2</sup> But it was not until 1881, when the Jews were overwhelmed by the first epidemic of pogroms, burdened by oppressive laws, and faced by economic misery, that the stream of migration to the havens of liberty in the West began to swell into full tide.

The immigration into the United States, which, before the Great War, formed about four-fifths of the total current, is deserving of some detailed examination. From July 1, 1880,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix on Migrations.

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. VIII, p. 584.

to June 30, 1926, the number of Jews of all regions admitted to that country was 2,870,272, of whom all but 366,660 arrived there before the War.<sup>1</sup> From 1898, the year in which the countries of origin of immigrants were first recorded, until 1908, the decade in which Jewish immigration reached its maximum level (932,631), Russia contributed 71.47 per cent, Austria-Hungary 17.07 per cent, and Rumania 5.55 per cent, whilst 5.91 per cent came from other countries. The rise and fall of the immigration from Russia clearly reflects the conditions of the time, the years of the pogroms showing a higher figure than either the year before or after. Thus in 1880-81 there were 8193 immigrants from that country; in 1881-82, the year of riots and the notorious May Laws, the number rose to 17,497, but in the following twelve months it fell to 6907. Similarly, in 1890-91 the number was 42,145, rising to 76,417 in the following pogrom-stricken year, and falling to 35,626 in the year 1892-93. Again, in 1904-5 the number of immigrants from Russia was 92,388, rising in the next two years to the highest figures on record, 125,234 in 1905-6 and 114,932 in 1906-7, and dropping again in 1907-8 to 71,978. The total number of Jews who entered the United States in the two years 1905-7 was 302,930, which exceeds the accepted estimate of the number who were expelled from Spain over four centuries ago, namely, 300,000. The percentage of Jewish immigrants contributed by Russia to that country from 1898 to 1914 fluctuated between 60.8 and 81.4, the maximum being reached in the memorable year 1905-6. Austria-Hungary contributed 193,587 Jews from 1898 to 1911, probably nine-tenths coming

<sup>1</sup> From the 2,870,272 Jews admitted to the United States in the period 1880-1926 we have to deduct those who departed or were deported so as to arrive at the net number who definitely settled in the country. Statistics of departures were not kept by the United States authorities before 1908. From that year until 1926 the number of Jews who left the country was 52,926, or 5 per cent of those admitted during that period, so that if we assume a similar percentage for the entire period 1880-1926, the number who left was 143,513. Statistics of deportations were not kept before 1899: from that year until 1926 the number of Jews deported was 3548, or .36 per cent of the net immigration, and if we assume a similar percentage for the period 1880-1926 the total number deported was 9816. Hence we arrive at 2,716,943 as representing the net increase of the Jewish population through immigration in the period 1880-1926.

The figures of the total Jewish immigration to the United States for 1881-1926 as given in the *American Jewish Year-Book* for 5688 (1927-28) are incorrect, as the table for the period 1881-98 shows merely the number of Jews admitted from other countries than Russia, those from Russia itself having been overlooked. The mistake is repeated in the issue for 5689 (1928-29). See Dr. Michael Traub, *Jüdische Wanderungen* (1922), pp. 53-56, and W. W. Kaplun-Kogan, *Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden* (1913), p. 117.

from Galicia alone. The emigration from Rumania first assumed serious dimensions in 1899, upon a tightening of the screw of anti-Jewish legislation. According to the report of the Rumanian Minister of the Interior (*Moniteur Officiel*, August 13, 1906) the number of Jews who emigrated from the country in 1899-1905 was 55,000, of whom about 40,000 went to the United States; and as according to the American Immigration authorities 57,015 Jews from Rumania settled in the United States between 1898 and 1911, we may fairly assume that about 80,000 Jews in all left Rumania in that period for various parts.

The proportion which the Jews have formed of the total body of immigration into the United States averaged annually about 11.6 per cent in the period from 1880 to 1914; it was as high as 26.1 per cent in 1894-5, and 17.3 per cent in 1922; but owing to the severe restrictions now imposed it has fallen as low as 3.3 per cent. Of the total number of immigrants admitted in the period 1900-25, namely 17,618,682, the Jews formed 10.3 per cent, the largest contingent after the Italians, who constituted 21.3 per cent. The ceaseless tide of immigration has naturally resulted in a rapid increase of the Jewish population. In 1848 the Jews in the United States numbered only 50,000, in 1880 there were 200,000, and in 1888 already 400,000, whilst they steadily rose to 937,800 in 1897, to 1,777,185 in 1907, to 3,300,000 in 1917, and to 4,228,000 in 1928.

The migration of the Jews has a distinctive character of its own. Among other nations it is mainly the young and individual male members of the family who leave their native country to seek their fortune in other climes, and they generally go forth with the intention of returning home, or at least revisiting it, after they have amassed some wealth. Among the Jews it is not young or individual or male members of the family who emigrate, but entire families, men and women old and young, grandparents and sucklings; they leave their native soil not to seek any fortune, but simply a modest living in peace and security; and they go forth without any intention of returning, for they sell up their homes before they leave, determined—though the resolve is not without a pang—not to retrace their steps to a land charged with bitter memories. The proportion that women and girls formed of the Jewish immigration into America in the period 1900-25 was 45.8 per cent, a much higher percentage than among other nationalities, the proportion for the non-Jewish immigration being only



32.9 per cent. In recent years females have formed the majority of Jewish immigrants, owing to the large number of wives and mothers who have gone to join their husbands and children previously settled: thus in 1926 they formed 55.5 per cent of the Jewish immigrants, whilst among the non-Jewish immigrants there were only 43.6 per cent. Another striking feature is the high proportion consisting of children. In the period 1900-25 the proportion of children (under 14 years) among Jews was 25.3 per cent (compared with 12.3 per cent among non-Jewish immigrants), though since the War it has declined, the proportion of children (under 16 years) in 1926 having been only 19.6 per cent (as compared with 15.4 per cent among non-Jews). On the other hand, the proportion of persons above 45 years of age has greatly increased, for whilst it varied from 4 to 7 per cent in the pre-War years, it rose to 15.3 per cent in 1926 (as compared with 8.9 per cent among non-Jews). The intermediate class in regard to age, viz. between 14 (or 16) and 45 years of age, has, on the whole, shown little change: it formed 67.6 per cent of the total group of Jewish arrivals in the period 1900-25 (compared with 81.5 per cent among the non-Jewish immigrants), whilst in 1926 it was 65.1 per cent (compared with 75 per cent among the non-Jewish immigrants). In most cases the father of the family sets out for the new land first, and as soon as he has established a firm footing there and saved sufficient money he sends steamship tickets home for his wife and children or other relatives. Before the War 92.6 per cent of the Jewish immigrants went to join their relatives, and after the War as many as 96.7 per cent; whilst among the non-Jewish immigrants the proportions were only 78.3 and 74.7 per cent respectively.

Of the 2,870,000 Jews who have entered America during the last fifty years only a small fraction has again left the country, unlike the Italians, who, after saving up for twenty years or more, return to spend their fortune in their native land. Thus, in 1909-10 the Jews formed only 6.75 per cent of the immigrants who left America, and 7.01 per cent in 1910-11, whilst the Italians formed 24.7 per cent in the former and 40.12 per cent in the latter year. Even in 1907-8, the years of economic depression, when 387,371 non-Jewish immigrants left the country, only 7702 Jews joined them, forming 7.44 per cent, whilst the Italians constituted 42.3 per cent. During the period 1908-26 the proportion of those who left America from the total number of immigrants was as high as 33 per

cent (3,744,694 out of 11,255,438), whilst in the case of the Jewish immigrants the proportion who left was only 5.1 per cent (52,926 out of 1,029,145), which was lower than that of any other nation. Similarly, the Jews form a very small proportion of the immigrants who have already been in the country once before, the "birds of passage," as they are technically called.

There are also distinctive characteristics attaching to the Jewish immigrants in America in respect of occupations. In the period 1900-25, 1.1 per cent belonged to the liberal professions, 35.2 per cent were skilled artisans, 18.5 per cent belonged to varied occupations, whilst those without any occupation formed the apparently high proportion of 45.2 per cent, owing to the large accompaniment of wives and children.<sup>1</sup> Teachers and musicians provided about half of the group of liberal professions, which also included authors, journalists, engineers, doctors, scholars, and scientists. Of the thirty nationalities that have flooded into America since the beginning of the century the Jews have shown the highest percentage of skilled artisans, 35.2, compared with only 13.3 among the non-Jews—a sufficient testimony to their economic worth. Eliminating those without any occupation, and classifying only those immigrants with an occupation, we find that 64.3 per cent of the Jews were skilled artisans, a higher proportion than that shown by any other nationality, the next being the English with 45.6 per cent and the Germans with 32.1 per cent. It is furthermore notable that whilst in the period 1900-25 the Jewish contingent of American immigration was only 10.3 per cent and comprised a large proportion of women and children, it nevertheless provided 23.2 per cent of all the skilled artisans. It is thus obvious that the Jewish immigrant constitutes a more highly skilled element. Among the Jewish artisans as many as 60 per cent were engaged in the various branches of the clothing industry, such as tailors, seamstresses, milliners, capmakers, and furriers (as compared with 23.2 per cent among the non-Jews), 14.2 per cent were in the various branches of the timber and building trades (compared with 25.1 per cent among the non-Jews), 7.7 per cent in the metal trades (compared with 17.8), and 7.1 per cent in the food trades (compared with 7.8). The Jews have formed half of all the immigrants engaged in the clothing, jewellery, and watch-making industries; and more than two-fifths of all those em-

<sup>1</sup> See the excellent monograph (in Yiddish) by Dr. Jacob Lestschinsky, *Die Iddische Wanderung far die letzte 25 Yohr* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 22-36.

ployed in the leather industry, whilst they enjoy the distinction of having supplied 65 per cent of all the immigrant tailors.

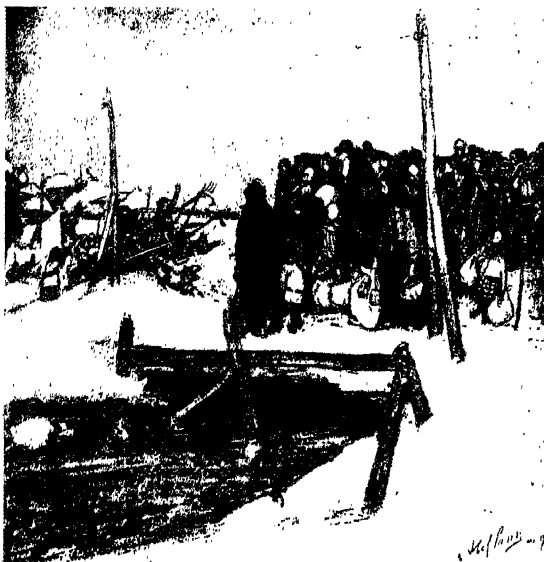
In one respect only, before the War, did the Jewish compare unfavourably with the non-Jewish immigrant, namely, in regard to his financial position. The average amount brought by a Jewish immigrant, namely 22 dollars, was only half of that brought by immigrants of other nationalities, and in no year was it equal to the average of other nationalities. This poor monetary equipment was largely due to the big proportion that children and married women formed of the Jewish contingent: in the first place, the Jews spend more of their scanty fortune upon the passage of their families, and, secondly, the aggregate amount of money brought by them is divided by the entire number—men, women, and children. Since the War, however, owing to the fact that persons with means have formed a larger proportion of the Jewish immigrants, the amount brought in by the latter has not differed appreciably from that in the possession of the non-Jewish immigrant, and has recently shown a tendency even to exceed it. Thus, in the year 1919 the average amount of the Jewish immigrant was 183 dollars (less only than that of the German, 207 dollars), whilst both in 1924 and 1925 the average brought by him, viz. 56 and 73 dollars respectively, was higher than that of any other nationality.<sup>1</sup> During the entire period 1900–25 the total of 1,810,752 Jewish immigrants brought 38,327,009 dollars into the United States, which works out at 21.2 dollars per head. More than 90 per cent of the Jewish immigrants went to join their relatives already established in the country, and on an average two-thirds had their travelling expenses covered by those relatives (as compared with only one-third in the case of non-Jewish immigrants), so that the greater part of the money which they brought into the United States was really only being restored to its original source.

The War has brought about a radical transformation in the extent and character of Jewish migration. During the course of the hostilities themselves large movements on the part of the Jewish as of other peoples were considerably impeded and reduced, though not entirely stopped. The United States, for example, in the four momentous years 1914–18, received an aggregate of 62,574 Jewish immigrants, which was less than half the number admitted in the year immediately preceding the great disaster. Hence upon the declaration of peace the longing of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

to abandon their homes for more tolerant regions burst forth with renewed vigour, intensified by the aftermath of the War, which, in many cases, had brought upon them horrors far surpassing those which they had just survived. The Bolshevik Revolution, the civil war, and the devastating pogroms in Soviet Russia, the anti-Jewish excesses in Poland, Hungary, and Rumania, and the violent outbreaks of anti-Semitism in other countries, made the greater part of Europe a terrible inferno from which the sorely tried Jew, having borne more than his share of the sufferings of war, made the most desperate efforts to escape. Tens of thousands of impoverished Jews fled panic-stricken from the blood-baths of the Ukraine and the shambles of White Russia to the new States along the western border, where their numbers were vastly increased on the conclusion of peace between Poland and Russia and the opening of the frontier between those countries by the westward flight of further hosts of fugitives from the blessings of the Soviet dispensation. The number of refugees concentrated in the Border States rose to 100,000 by the summer of 1920, and accumulated to 200,000 by the summer of the following year.

The very moment when the Western nations might have displayed the virtues of charity and hospitality most fittingly and extensively, they chose to close their hearts and their frontiers. So far from practising those lofty altruistic ideals, for the promotion of which the War was alleged to have been fought, they manifested a recrudescence of national self-interest and xenophobia which was reminiscent of the purblind policy of a mediæval principality. The once vaunted lands of liberty, the famed asylums of the oppressed, were now wholly concerned with their own welfare. Great Britain, which had narrowed her portals to the stranger from the beginning of 1906 and had closed them as a War measure, elected to keep them barred as a peace measure; and the United States, which had emerged from the conflict with the very smallest losses and with incalculable material gains, re-echoed with the demand for limiting the admittance of foreigners. The year 1921 saw the last huge, unrestricted influx of immigrants into the United States: it consisted of a total contingent of 805,000, of whom 119,000, or somewhat over one-seventh, were Jews. This number, characteristic of the pogrom years of pre-War times, and exceeded only on four occasions in the entire history of Jewish immigration to America, signaled the state of distress in which the Jews found themselves, but soon they were prevented from flocking thither as freely as before.



UNWELCOME FUGITIVES

*"They won't let us in. They are afraid they might have pity on us."*

*From the Drawing by Abel Pann*



Yielding to the agitation for the restriction of immigration, despite the most passionate pleading of the friends of the oppressed for a continuance of the policy of the open door, the United States legislature in 1921 passed a temporary law to limit new-comers to 3 per cent of the numbers of their particular nation as shown in the United States census of 1910. The Act was prompted by the alleged realization, according to an American writer,<sup>1</sup> that "the foreign colonies had not been assimilated and that many foreign-born sought to use their votes as American citizens in the interest of some foreign land," as well as by the assumed fear that the one and a quarter million Europeans who had already entered America since the War would be followed by further millions at the earliest opportunity. After being applied for three years, during which Jewish immigration was forced down to below 50,000, the law of 1921 was superseded by a more drastic law in 1924, which reduced the national quotas from 3 to 2 per cent, and based them on the census of 1890 instead of that of 1910.

The reason for this change of basis was that the 1890 census gave preponderance to immigrants from Northern Europe, because the Northern Europeans were believed to have played the most decisive part in the formation of the American Commonwealth, and, moreover, because there had been an enormous influx during the period 1890-1910 of Southern and Eastern Europeans, whose number, as shown in the census of 1910, was held to be out of proportion to the rôle they had played in the national life of the country. The effect of the adoption of this "Nordic" theory, as it was called,<sup>2</sup> in face of the principle enunciated in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," was that the quotas for the two countries supplying the largest proportion of Jewish immigrants, Russia and Poland, were severely cut down further, from 21,613 to 1892 in the case of Russia, and from 21,076 to 8972 in the case of Poland. There is no specific quota for Jews, who are thus dependent on the quotas for the respective countries from which they originate. The total Jewish immigration to the United States has consequently been reduced to 10,267 in one year (1926), which is less than one-tenth of the number admitted in 1921.

The restrictions introduced by America have affected the

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Roosevelt in *The Times*, September 5, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> The term "Nordic" was coined by a Frenchman, Deniker, and given currency by an American, Madison Grant, in his book, *The Passing of the Great Race*.

science, and philosophy, and a periodical press remarkable both for its fertility and its variety.

The rise and development of Yiddish literature is one of the most striking phenomena in the annals of the Jewish people. Yiddish, which is an English transliteration of the German *Jüdisch* (itself elliptically used for *Jüdisch-Deutsch* or Judæo-German), is the name of the language which was spoken by the Jews in Germany in the Middle Ages, which they carried with them on their forced emigration in the sixteenth century into Poland, Lithuania, and Bohemia, and which now forms the principal medium of intercourse of more than six million people. Its basis is the High German of the Middle Rhine district, which was spoken by Jew and Christian alike; but it was written by the Jew in Hebrew characters, and upon being transplanted to Slavonic soil it absorbed many Russian and Polish words and inflexions from its new environment and appropriated many expressions and idioms from the Hebrew vocabulary, particularly those relating to religious matters, whilst it underwent slight variations of pronunciation and orthography in different regions, and has even annexed a great number of English words and phrases in its latter-day development in England and America. The rise and growth of Yiddish is as natural as that of any other language, but because it differs from modern classical German it is often branded as a bastard lingo and is even spoken of by its own writers as "Jargon." But its analogy with English, to which it is closely related, should suffice to redeem it from the obloquy that is unjustly cast upon it. For English is simply the development of the Low German dialect that the Angles and Saxons brought with them to the island of Britain in the fifth century, whilst Yiddish is the High German dialect that the Jews carried with them into Poland and Bohemia ten centuries later. The former was the speech of conquerors, the latter that of fugitives: hence the difference in their later evolution. But the growth of Yiddish is not unique in the vicissitudes of Israel. The Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492 and settled in Turkey took their Castilian mother-tongue with them and fashioned therefrom a Judæo-Spanish language; whilst their brethren in North Africa spoke and wrote a Judæo-Arabic tongue, and those in Persia a Judæo-Persian, all, like their Judæo-German counterpart, being written in Hebrew characters. But the surpassing importance of Yiddish consists in its being spoken by half of Jewry, and in forming the medium of a rich literature palpitating with living interest.



in the country in which they were, or to go to some other country.

The anti-immigration policy of America has had a profound and far-reaching effect upon the tide of Jewish migration: it has lessened its volume and diverted its direction. In the years immediately preceding the War the extent of this migration ranged from 100,000 to 120,000; now it has been reduced to half those dimensions. This diminution is due, however, not merely to the restrictions practised by America and South Africa, and the total exclusion enforced by England, but also to the dilatory and vexatious formalities (such as passport endorsements and visas) requisite for travel which were unknown before the War. The difficulty of entering the United States has caused greater attention to be devoted to other countries with a more liberal policy and a larger need of population, some of which had already welcomed thousands of Jews in previous years. Prominent among these are Argentina, which has received 55,000 Jews since the War (in addition to 95,000 before), Brazil, which has received 25,000 (in addition to 3000 before), and Canada, which has received 30,000 (in addition to 72,000 before). There is, indeed, hardly any country in the New World to which, especially in the last decade, hosts of Jewish emigrants have not turned their footsteps and established there new communities. Mexico has attracted 9000, Cuba 6000, Chile 4000, and Uruguay 4000, besides smaller numbers who have settled in Peru, Venezuela, and Paraguay.

Among the dominions of the British Empire, apart from Canada, South Africa has admitted altogether about 45,000 Jews (mainly—curiously enough—from Lithuania) and Australasia 16,000, whilst Great Britain has added hardly any to the 150,000 immigrants settled within her shores before the War. Of the countries on the Continent France has displayed notable hospitality in welcoming some 80,000 Jews since the Peace of Versailles, drawn partly from Russia and the Border States and partly from the sorely stricken communities of Salonica and Smyrna—the former afflicted by the great fire of 1917 and the latter by a similar disaster in 1921. As for other countries, Germany has provided a home for 80,000 Jewish arrivals from Eastern Europe, Belgium for 25,000, and Egypt for 30,000. Smaller settlements of Russian, Polish, and Rumanian Jews have also been formed during the last fifty years in Holland, Scandinavia, Denmark, and Switzerland.

The one land which, since the War, has witnessed an extra-

ordinary influx of Jews, as compared with other countries, is Palestine. From the spring of 1919 until the end of 1927 the number who settled in it was 100,000—a number exceeding that which entered any other country during the same period, with the sole exception of the United States. The reason is that, apart from all economic considerations, Palestine now offers the Jewish people the opportunity of realizing their age-old aspiration of a restored Judæa. The peak year was 1925, when 36,000 Jews “went up” into the land, which was half as many again as the total of those who in that year entered the three countries of the United States, Canada, and Argentina. Owing to adverse economic circumstances the rate of immigration has since declined, but there can be no doubt that with the expected improvement in the material position the influx will rise again.

The ceaseless wanderings of Israel in search of a home are accompanied by countless hardships. Serious as these were even before the War, they have now become more difficult and painful, not only on account of the legal formalities already mentioned, but also owing to the obstacles that are placed in the way both of emigration and immigration by various countries. Soviet Russia is far more cruel than Tsarist Russia in preventing her Jewish subjects from shaking off her yoke; and Persia, perhaps infected by the Russian virus, will also not let her Jews go. The pains and perils of migration are mitigated to a certain extent by the labours of various benevolent organizations on both sides of the Atlantic, especially the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of New York, the “Emigdirekt”<sup>1</sup> of Berlin, and the Jewish Colonization Association, which have formed a new joint body called “Hicem,”<sup>2</sup> for the co-ordination of their activities. Their efforts are supplemented by the International Conference of Private Societies for the Protection of Migrants, which is closely associated with the International Labour Office; but though the peculiar tribulations of the Jewish emigrant may, in the course of years, grow less, they are, owing to their ultimate and ineradicable causes, never likely to disappear.

<sup>1</sup> Official abbreviation of “Emigrations-Direktorium.”

<sup>2</sup> A fusion of the initials “H.I.A.S.,” “I.C.A.,” and “Emigdirekt.”

Book V

THE INTELLECTUAL ASPECT

INTRODUCTION

The Jewish intellect and its forms of activity—The evolution of intellectual progress.

THE intellectual gifts of the Jew have been manifested in such countless and impressive forms that they have been acknowledged by friend and foe alike. Whatever be the faults with which the adversary of the Jew may reproach him, he readily admits his high mental capacity, though he tries to neutralize the admission by conceding the Jew only talent whilst denying him genius. Whether there is any justification for this view will be considered later. For the present we merely wish to point out that the Jewish mind is the product of an age-long process of selective development, stimulated by ceaseless conflicts and steeled and tempered by the fires of persecution, and that the forms in which it expresses itself are inevitably shaped and coloured by a complexity of historic, religious, and social influences. Even in the Bible, unanimously acknowledged as the Jew's most valuable and enduring contribution to the treasury of the world's thought, there may be traced a number of distinct mental attitudes—the legal, the spiritual, the mystic, the rational, and even the romantic. This diversity of intellectual attitude or proclivity was likewise manifested in the Middle Ages when, side by side with Talmudical literature, science and philosophy were also cultivated, and many a Rabbi was distinguished as a physician or an astronomer. But at no period in Jewish history was this diversity so striking and multifarious as at the present day.

Until the dawn of the social and political emancipation of the Jews at the end of the eighteenth century their intellectual life, on the whole, was of a uniform and specifically Jewish character, for they were sundered by Ghetto walls from external influences. They were trained in traditional Hebrew lore in the schools of the Synagogue and nurtured on Jewish ideals ;

with the exception of a Spinoza or a Süsskind of Trimberg, they devoted themselves mainly to the study and enrichment of their own national literature; and even when they occupied themselves with alien subjects they still laboured in a Jewish milieu and retained a Jewish outlook. But with the advent of emancipation a radical change set in. This first asserted itself in the sphere of education, where the traditional lore was gradually usurped by modern knowledge, and then spread to all other spheres of intellectual endeavour. But it was only in the lands of the West that this change was allowed free play; in the East it was at first met with active resistance, and even later it was unable to make the same progress as in the lands of liberty owing to the social and political servitude of the local Jewries. Hence, modern Jewry is divided into two great camps in the world of culture. The Eastern camp has remained faithful to the traditions and ideals of Israel, and has also in the last hundred years produced an abundant literature of its own in Hebrew and Yiddish; whilst the Western camp has industriously participated in all the labours and strivings of modern culture and achieved many an important triumph in different spheres. Between the two there is a gulf which Zionism is trying to bridge over by the creation of a Jewish land, in which Jews shall co-operate in all the movements of modern culture, working under the influence of their own national spirit and through the medium of their own national language.

## CHAPTER I

### EDUCATION

Jewish education originally religious in character and purpose—Transition to secular education in eighteenth century—Attendance at Jewish and non-Jewish schools—Hebrew and Yiddish secular schools in Eastern Europe—Attendance at universities—*Numerus clausus* movement—Percentage at universities and in various faculties—Education in the East—Education a stepping-stone to assimilation.

THE pursuit of knowledge has always formed a cardinal ideal in Jewish life, but the conception of its nature and purpose has undergone a change in the process of time. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the sole object of study was to produce a good Jew, that is, a religious Jew, and hence the scheme of education in all the Jewries of Europe was designed to impart an intimate and comprehensive knowledge of religious lore. It consisted of systematic instruction in the Torah and the Talmud and their manifold commentaries, a course that was difficult and voluminous enough to occupy the mind of the Jew from infancy to manhood, and indeed a sage of the Talmud devised a quaint programme to cover this important period of development.<sup>1</sup> The work of education was conducted mostly in a private school styled a *Cheder*, which literally means "room," and which generally consisted of the sole living-room of the teacher, in which his wife, with her children about her, plied her domestic duties whilst the lessons went on the whole day. The number of pupils at each *Cheder* was limited by its seating capacity, which was none too large, though there were generally two or three classes, graded according to age and capacity, which attended at different hours. The curriculum comprised the reading of the Hebrew prayer-book, the translation of the Bible and its cantillation according to the traditional system of accents, the study of the numerous commentaries upon the Pentateuch and the rest of the Bible, Hebrew cursive writing, the study of the religious code, the

<sup>1</sup> Mishna, *Aboth*, V: "At five years the age is reached for the study of the Scripture, at ten for the study of the Mishna, at thirteen for the fulfilment of the commandments, at fifteen for the study of the Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for seeking a livelihood."

*Shulchan Aruch* ("Table Prepared"), and finally that of the monumental thesaurus of Jewish law, doctrine, and tradition—the Talmud. The tuition was imparted through the medium of Yiddish and in anything but a methodical fashion, for the teacher (*Melammed*) rarely had any other qualification except his unfitness for other callings, relieved by unblemished piety; but every parent considered it a religious duty to send his children to the *Cheder*, and even to make a sacrifice for the purpose. The *Cheder* was attended, as a rule, only by boys, the importance of the education of the girls being discounted by the inferior position of their sex in the Synagogue, but the children of well-to-do parents were taught at home by a private tutor.

Besides the *Chedarim*, of which there were a number in every Jewish town, there was also a communal school for the education of poor and orphan children, styled a *Talmud Torah* ("Study of the Law"), which was maintained by voluntary contributions and provided the same course of instruction. The pupils of a *Talmud Torah* were also often supplied with free food and clothing. The ambitious student, or he who wished to adopt the career of a Rabbi, continued his studies in a Talmudical college or *Yeshiba*, and even went from one *Yeshiba* to another to gather wisdom from the famous Rabbis who presided over these institutions. The youth who excelled in Talmudical learning and failed to equip himself for a worldly vocation had no cause to fear the future, for he was sure that his accomplishments would be detected and appreciated by the well-to-do father of a marriageable daughter, who would gladly take him as his son-in-law, keep him for the first two years after marriage, and then provide him with the means of a future livelihood. Even after assuming the burden of a family the pious Jew still continued to study the Torah in his leisure moments, in literal fulfilment of the Biblical injunction: "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night."<sup>1</sup>

The whole scheme of education throughout the Middle Ages was thus dedicated to a religious purpose. Secular knowledge was pursued only secondarily and spasmodically, and that too only by adults: the three principal subjects favoured being medicine, philosophy, and astronomy, in each of which, particularly the first, the Jews acquired a more than local renown. But about the middle of the eighteenth century, owing to the increasing intercourse of Jews with Christians,

<sup>1</sup> Joshua i, 8.

the importance of secular education, and especially of the ability to speak and write the vernacular, was more and more recognized, and hence a desire arose to supplement the religious with a secular training. This tendency was actively fostered by Moses Mendelssohn, the apostle of enlightenment among the Jews, and by his various disciples, and it was considerably furthered by his German translation of the Pentateuch, which at length provided his generation, who had hitherto spoken only Yiddish, with a key to modern culture. The promoters of this secular movement were animated by mingled motives of humanism and patriotism: they wished to widen the mental horizon of their fellow-Jews by teaching them the vernacular and the most necessary branches of general knowledge in order to make them the social and intellectual equals of their Christian neighbours and thus strengthen their claim to political equality. Laudable as this movement was it encountered the bitterest opposition from most of the Rabbis, and the battle which ensued raged with varying intensity in different parts of Europe and has not yet terminated to this day in certain regions of Eastern Europe. The antagonism to secular learning arose from the fear that it would ultimately usurp the place of religious learning and thus estrange the Jew from the faith of his forefathers, a fear that has unfortunately been proved in a certain measure to be justified. But the march of progress could not be stayed by Rabbinical bans, and the enthusiasm for modern learning that was kindled by Mendelssohn's devotees, Hartwig Wessely, David Friedländer, and Daniel Itzig, became infectious. In 1778 the first modern Jewish school was founded in Berlin by David Friedländer, and this served as a model for other institutions that arose soon after in different parts of Germany, Austria, Italy, and England. Since then modern education has spread steadily throughout the Jewish communities of Western Europe and America, and it has also been introduced among the Jewries of the Orient; but in certain parts of Poland and Lithuania the conditions still resemble those that prevailed a hundred years ago.<sup>1</sup>

The zeal that had formerly been devoted to religious lore was transferred to secular learning, and the mental acumen that had been sharpened by Talmudical dialectics asserted itself in the rapid acquisition of modern culture. The Jews did not wait for the establishment of free schools by the State but founded their own schools, in which the Hebrew and religious curriculum was preserved side by side with the

<sup>1</sup> In Poland there are reported to be 3000 *Chedarim* with 150,000 children.

secular instruction. The name *Talmud Torah* was also retained for these institutions in various cases, and was dropped only later when the growing claims of the secular subjects caused a reduction in the amount of religious tuition. With the advance of the civil and political emancipation of the Jews in Western Europe and the introduction of compulsory education they soon availed themselves of the boon of the Government schools, though they naturally preferred to send their children to their own communal establishments, where they could receive a religious as well as a secular training, and where, moreover, they could grow up in a Jewish atmosphere. In no country, however, could the resources of the community keep pace with the growing educational requirements of its population, and hence increasing attendance at the State schools was inevitable. To such an extent has this developed that in the Jewish quarters of great cities, such as London,<sup>1</sup> New York, and Chicago, there are Government schools that are wholly or almost wholly attended by Jewish pupils. In fact, the great bulk of Jewish children in the Western world receive their education in municipal schools. The proportion of Jewish elementary-school children attending non-Jewish schools in Prussia actually amounts to three-fourths,<sup>2</sup> and the number of Jewish scholars at higher-grade institutions is out of all proportion to their population. In the Prussian middle schools, according to the latest statistics available, the percentage of Jewish pupils is four times as large as the ratio of all Jewish pupils to the total number of pupils, in the higher girls' schools it is about ten times as large, and in the higher boys' schools (*Gymnasien*, modern schools, etc.) it is about eight times as large.<sup>3</sup> A similar disproportion of the Jewish to non-Jewish scholars is found in several public schools in England (London and Manchester) and America.<sup>4</sup> This abnormally high share in advanced education is commonly attributed to the fact that the Jews are almost entirely an urban people, largely engaged in commercial pursuits, who have therefore both more opportunity and inclination to attend educational institutions and also more need of the knowledge acquired there. But the cardinal motive consists in the Jewish esteem of knowledge

<sup>1</sup> In 1912 less than one-fifth of the Jewish school-children in Greater London attended Jewish elementary schools (*Jewish Year-Book*, 1912, p. 49). Since then, largely owing to the cessation of immigration, this proportion has doubtless declined.

<sup>2</sup> Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> *The Immigrant Jew in America*, p. 190, edited by Dr. Edmund J. James (New York, 1907).



for its own sake, derived from the devotion lavished for centuries upon the study of the Torah and the Talmud: even the poorest family is ready to make a sacrifice in the interests of the education of a promising child. Not only do Jewish children form an abnormal percentage of the scholars at public schools, but they often display an unusual aptitude, particularly in languages, history, and mathematics, and it is a frequent phenomenon at British and American schools that they carry off an undue proportion of the prizes and scholarships.

It is not only in Western countries that the majority of Jewish children attend non-Jewish schools, for a similar condition exists in certain important parts of Central and Eastern Europe. In Vienna, for instance, Jews form 36·77 per cent of the pupils at the *Gymnasia*, a proportion three times as great as the Jewish ratio of the population, whilst they comprise as many as 43·66 per cent of the pupils attending all middle schools.<sup>1</sup> In Hungary, where they constitute only 6 per cent of the population, they form 23·5 per cent of the pupils at the secondary schools.<sup>2</sup> In Poland, owing to administrative restrictions, the Jews form only 6·4 per cent of the attendance at the Government middle schools in Congress Poland, and 18·5 per cent at those in Galicia, but a far larger number attend the numerous private schools, at which they comprise 35 per cent of the pupils in Congress Poland and 36·5 per cent in Galicia. According to Deputy Gruenbaum, of Jewish pupils attending middle schools in 1922-23, 50·9 per cent were at purely Jewish institutions, 29·8 per cent at private Polish establishments, and 19·3 per cent at Government schools.<sup>3</sup> As regards the primary schools, he estimates that the Jewish percentage is 7·4 at the Government schools, and 31·3 at the municipal schools in Congress Poland, whilst in Galicia it is about 10 per cent. In the Ukraine four-fifths of the Jewish children attend the Government schools, at which Russian or Ukrainian is the language of instruction, whilst in White Russia three-fifths attend the Government schools.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Die Juden Wiens*, pp. 35-37, by Dr. Leo Goldhammer (Vienna, 1927).

<sup>2</sup> See the statistics on the Jews in Hungary in the *American Jewish Year-Book* for 1927-28.

<sup>3</sup> "Das jüdische Schulproblem in Polen" in *Blätter f. Demographie d. Juden*, No. 5 (1925), pp. 104-110. See also the articles on "Das Volksschulwesen der nichtpolnischen Nationalitäten in Polen" in the review *Natig*, No. 3-4, Warsaw, 1927, and on "Das jüdische Mittelschulwesen in Polen," by Dr. A. Tartakower in the special number of *Der Jude on Erziehung* (Jüd. Verlag, Berlin, 1926).

<sup>4</sup> *Blätter f. Demographie*, No. 5 (1925), pp. 126-8.

A notable feature of Jewish education not only in Poland and Soviet Russia, but also in other parts of Eastern Europe, consists of the number of schools with a secular curriculum at which instruction is given solely through the medium of Hebrew or Yiddish. These schools first began to arise in Poland in 1915 and owe their creation to the wish of Jewish parents to have their children educated in general as well as Jewish subjects in an institution conducted on a purely Jewish basis. The difference of language used indicates a profound divergence of view on the question of Jewish nationalism, for whilst the Hebrew schools subserve the ideal of a reconstituted Jewish nation in Palestine, the Yiddish institutions are fostered by those who regard Yiddish as the rightful language of the Jewish people and maintain that the latter must work out its destiny in the Diaspora. The Hebrew system, which is called *Tarbut*, comprises 141 schools with 16,600 pupils in Poland, whilst the Yiddish system has 95 schools with 11,800 pupils: both systems, ranging from kindergarten to higher grade, are confined almost entirely to Congress Poland, the Hebrew schools in Galicia being devoted mainly to instruction in Jewish subjects. The *Tarbut* system also exists in several other countries, namely, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Czecho-Slovakia (Carpatho-Russia), as well as, of course, in all Jewish schools in Palestine. Its predominance is particularly striking in Lithuania, where there are 150 Hebrew schools attended by over 12,000 pupils, who comprise 75 per cent of all the Jewish school-children in the country, another 10 per cent attending Orthodox establishments where Hebrew preponderates, whilst only 6.5 per cent are at Yiddish schools, and the remaining 8.5 per cent at Russian, German, and Lithuanian institutions.<sup>1</sup> The preference for the Hebrew school in these parts of Eastern Europe is due not only to the prevalence of the Zionist idea, but also to the fact that the Jews in the Border States have as yet little confidence in the education given in the Government establishments. On the other hand, in Soviet Russia, where Hebrew is anathema, there are 766 Yiddish schools with 106,000 pupils (over a half in the Ukraine), supplemented by Yiddish training institutes in Moscow, Minsk, and Odessa.

The Jewish passion for learning is manifested most strikingly in the attendance at the universities and similar centres of

<sup>1</sup> *Jüdische Rundschau*, October 25, 1927. See also article on "Das jüdische Schulwesen in Litauen," by J. Robinson in the special number of *Der Jude* on *Erziehung* (Jüd. Verlag, 1926).

higher education. Until the end of the eighteenth century Jews were represented only sparsely at the universities, to which they were for the most part not admitted,<sup>1</sup> but during the last hundred years, and more especially during the last sixty, they have flocked in ever-increasing numbers to these seats of learning, particularly in Central Europe, and in a proportion far exceeding their ratio to the general population. Before the War the percentage of Jews at the universities in Germany was seven times as large as the percentage of the Christian population, in Hungary it was six times and in Austria four times as large.<sup>2</sup> This disproportion was due to some extent to the Jewish contingent including a certain number of students from Russia, whose admission to the universities in their native country was severely restricted; but even allowing for this foreign influx the Jewish proportion of the university students in Germany, Austria, and Hungary was still exceedingly high. In the period from 1851 to 1904 the number of Jews at the universities of Austria increased sevenfold, whilst that of the Christians hardly trebled.<sup>3</sup>

Since the War there has been a decline in the percentage of Jewish students at many universities in Central Europe, owing to the attitude of hostility towards them that has been adopted by the Christian students, aided and abetted in certain cases by the university authorities and even approved and supported by the Government. Antagonism towards Jews at the universities had broken out extensively in 1913 in Germany and Austria, but it was directed only against Russian Jews, with the result that the admission of the latter was subjected to drastic restrictions. Shortly after the conclusion of the War, however, the agitation was resumed on a larger scale, but this time it was conducted against all Jews, whether foreign or not, and it spread from the countries in which it had previously raged to all parts of Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>4</sup> Its object was to prevent the Jews from acquiring the knowledge that would qualify them for engaging in the liberal professions, or that would enable them to occupy positions of importance

<sup>1</sup> The establishment of University College, London, in 1826, was due to the fact that Jews were not yet admitted to the University of Oxford nor allowed to take a degree at Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. J. Thon, *Die Juden in Österreich*, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> The agitation usually began among the students of the medical faculty, who demanded that the Jews should provide a proportionate number of Jewish corpses for dissection, but it soon became general.

or influence in the State or in the national life of the country. Formally, the crusade consisted in the demand that the admission of Jews to the universities should be limited to a ratio corresponding to the proportion that the Jews formed of the total population, but actually it has manifested itself in organized attacks and violent excesses, primarily against the Jewish students themselves and against any Jewish professors who might have the courage to stick to their posts, and frequently also against the Jewish people in general. This *numerus clausus* movement derived its inspiration from the policy of Tsarist Russia, which limited Jews at the universities to 5 per cent of the total number of students, but whereas in Russia the law was applied, rigorously enough, without any accompanying demonstrations, the limitation in post-War Europe has been often attended by the most brutal outbursts and has been responsible even for the loss of lives.

The three countries in which the anti-Jewish movement at the universities has been most conspicuous during the last few years are Hungary, Poland, and Rumania, whilst minor exhibitions of hostility have been witnessed at the universities of Hanover, Munich, Vienna, and Kovno.<sup>1</sup> In Hungary a law was passed in 1920 which stipulated that "the number of students of different races shall be in proportion to the number of inhabitants of such races and nationalities in the country, and that each race or nationality shall be represented in a proportion of at least nine-tenths of its respective proportion in the country." The reason alleged for this enactment was that it was necessary for the safety of the State to reduce the numbers of the intellectual proletariat. The falsity of this pretext was transparent, for the law was applied solely against the Jews. In 1913-14 the Budapest University contained 7513 students, of whom 2598 were Jews, whilst in 1921-22 there was a total of 7140, of whom only 558 were Jews. These figures prove conclusively the anti-Semitic motive of the Hungarian law. The racial discrimination which it prescribed constituted a flagrant infraction of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary, and hence repeated representations were made to the League of Nations until Hungary, in February, 1928, amended the law by suppressing the article referring to race or nationality and substituting therefor another article. The amended

<sup>1</sup> See the Reports of the Joint Foreign Committee on "The Jewish Minority in Hungary" (1926) and "The Jewish Minority in Rumania" (1927 and 1928); also the author's article, "The War against the Jewish Student," in *The Student World* for July, 1927.

law provides that the order of priority in the admission of students shall depend upon their belonging to certain social and economic categories, so that it will still be possible to discriminate against Jewish students in the future without apparently violating the terms of the Peace Treaty.<sup>1</sup> There is no law on the subject in Poland, but in certain cities the university authorities themselves have practised a system of restriction against the Jews for a number of years. In Posen no Jews are admitted; at the Lemberg University the Jews and Ukrainians are limited to 40 per cent of the total register; whilst at Cracow University the Jews are restricted in the medical faculty to 13 per cent. There is no pretence at Cracow that Jews are excluded on the ground of insufficient qualifications, for those rejected are given a certificate by the university authorities testifying to their exclusion on the ground of the *numerus clausus*, in order to enable them to obtain a visa to go abroad to complete their studies at some more hospitable seat of learning. In Rumania there is no law for the limitation of Jewish students at the universities, but the restrictions enforced by the authorities and the brutal hostility displayed by the students themselves have resulted in the number of Jews at these seats of learning and culture being reduced to trifling proportions and in their complete disappearance from certain faculties. In no other country but Rumania has it been necessary in recent years for university professors to lecture under police and even military protection, in order to prevent the students from organizing riots, and in no other country are Jews "ploughed" at the leaving certificate examinations so plentifully in order to disqualify them for admission to the university.<sup>2</sup>

The result of this widespread antagonism to the devotion of Jews to higher learning has been an extensive emigration of Jewish students to more tolerant lands. During the last few years at least 10,000 young Jews of both sexes from Eastern Europe have wandered forth to the universities of Belgium and France, of Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, of Austria and Italy. The consequence has been that whilst the percentage of Jewish students at the universities has been reduced in some countries, it has been increased in others, though it is everywhere, nevertheless, above the Jewish ratio

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bk. III, Chap. II.

<sup>2</sup> At the leaving certificate examinations at the higher grade schools in Rumania in July, 1928, 75 per cent of all Jewish students were "ploughed" (*Bulletin of Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, July 19, 1928).

of the population. In Vienna the proportion has declined from 42.15 per cent in 1920-21 to 24.85 per cent in 1925-26,<sup>1</sup> and in Hungary from 34.6 per cent in 1913-14 to 7.8 per cent in 1923-24. In Prussia the proportion was 6.8 per cent in 1908, but it has now dropped to 4.5 per cent,<sup>2</sup> whilst in Bavaria it has fallen from 7.1 per cent in 1913-14 to 5.4 per cent in 1921-22.<sup>3</sup> In Latvia the proportion has declined from 15.7 per cent in 1920-21 to 8.9 per cent in 1923-24. On the other hand, in Prague the Jewish proportion at the German University has risen from 23.3 per cent in 1913-14 to 39.6 per cent in 1921-22, and at the Czech University from 2.2 to 5.3 per cent in the same period. There has been an increase even in Poland itself, despite the application of the *numerus clausus* already mentioned: in Warsaw from 12.6 per cent in 1904-5 to 32.9 per cent in 1922-23, whilst in the decade from 1913 to 1923 there was a rise in Cracow from 15.3 to 29.4 per cent, and in Lemberg from 28.5 per cent to 42.7 per cent. Particularly striking is the proportion of Jewish students, namely, 47.4 per cent, at the centres of higher learning in the Ukraine, where the Jews form only 7 per cent of the general population, although 35 per cent of the urban population.<sup>4</sup> A careful investigation that was made in the United States in 1918-19 by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research showed that the Jews formed 9.7 per cent of the students at the universities and colleges, although they were only 3.22 per cent of the population, and that in New York City alone they constituted 38.5 per cent of the student body although only 25 per cent of the population.<sup>5</sup>

The position in the principal countries can be seen from the table opposite.

Jewish students are to be found in all the faculties of universities, though they show a marked preference for medicine, a predilection partly derived from tradition and partly due to its utility in any part of the world to which the student might emigrate. In Poland 34.1 per cent of all Jewish students are engaged in medicine, as compared with 32.8 per cent who study philosophy and 23.8 per cent who take law. In Prague there are 68 per cent at the medical faculties (as compared with 29.9 per cent among non-Jews), in Riga there are 47.2 per cent

<sup>1</sup> *Die Juden Wiens*, pp. 38-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, August 8, 1927.

<sup>3</sup> *Blätter für Demographie der Juden*, No. 5, 1925. See the very informative article by J. Coralnik on "Die jüdischen Studenten in Europa in der Nachkriegszeit."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 4 (1924).

<sup>5</sup> *American Jewish Year-Book* for 5681 (1920-21).

## PERCENTAGE OF JEWS AT UNIVERSITIES

Country.	Percentage of Students.	Percentage of Urban Population.	Percentage of Total Population.
Austria (Vienna) . . . . .	24.85	10.80 (Vienna)	—
Bavaria . . . . .	5.4	1.8	0.8
Czecho-Slovakia . . . . .	15.0	5.5	2.6
Great Britain . . . . .	2.27 <sup>1</sup>	—	0.7
Hungary . . . . .	10.8	17.2	5.9
Latvia . . . . .	8.9	17.4	5.0
Lithuania (Kovno) . . . . .	20.8	—	7.6
Poland . . . . .	24.3	37.0	10.4
Prussia . . . . .	4.5	—	1.06
Ukraine . . . . .	47.4	35.0	7.0
United States . . . . .	9.7	—	3.2

at the medical faculty (compared with 26 per cent among non-Jews), whilst in the Ukraine the percentage of Jewish students in this faculty is 60.5. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in the United States medicine occupies the second place among the subjects taken by the Jewish students. According to the investigation made by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research in 1918-19, of a total of 14,837 Jews at the American universities and colleges nearly one-fourth, or 23.2 per cent, were taking courses in commerce and finance (as against 11.8 per cent of the non-Jewish students), 18.4 per cent were studying medicine (as against 11.2 per cent of the non-Jews), 16.3 per cent engineering (as against 30.9 per cent), 14.7 per cent law (as against 6.4 per cent), and 12 per cent dentistry (as against 4.7 per cent). It is further interesting to note that among the Jewish students women formed about one-fifth whilst among the non-Jewish students they were one-third, and that among the Jewish female students the subjects enjoying the greatest popularity were in the following order: commerce and finance (32.1 per cent), education (28.4 per cent), and law (14 per cent).

One of the most striking examples of Jewish solidarity is the systematic effort of the Jews of the West to spread the benefits of education among their brethren in the East. The first organized endeavour in this direction was made by the "Alliance Israélite Universelle," of Paris, which established its first school in Tetuan in 1862 and which has since founded a host of other schools in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Palestine, and Persia. The total number

<sup>1</sup> A careful estimate, but not including students at colleges in London.

of primary schools which it now maintains is 116, attended by 38,466 pupils. A small fee is charged for the children of well-to-do parents, but poor children are given not only free education but occasionally also books and clothing. The "Alliance" also maintains farm-schools in Palestine and Tunis, and three teachers' training colleges in Paris to supply its schools with qualified teachers born in the East. The civilizing work effected by this educational activity in regions that might otherwise have been left to languish in stagnation deserves full recognition, but unfortunately the directors of the "Alliance" have imposed upon the schools a modern French character, without regard to the special conditions of the East, they have failed to provide continuation schools for the pupils who are apt to sink back into Oriental lassitude, and they do not exercise any personal supervision of the work. The activity of the "Alliance" has thus a negative as well as a positive side. Its efforts have been supplemented since 1871 by the Anglo-Jewish Association, which supports schools in Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Persia, India (Bombay), Morocco, and Greece (Salonica), and likewise, since 1902, by the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden," which, besides promoting elementary and advanced education in European and Asiatic Turkey, has also subventioned general and technical schools in Galicia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. The "Hilfsverein" has acted as a pioneer of the kindergarten system in the East, and conducts a teachers' training college in Jerusalem. The Jewish Colonization Association supplements the activity of the other philanthropic organizations by maintaining or subsidizing a large number of technical schools in Eastern Europe (especially Russia and Poland), whilst the American Joint Distribution Committee, between the stressful years 1920 and 1925, expended a sum of 1,592,000 dollars (over £318,400) on the support of a multitude of educational institutions of various categories and grades in all parts of Central and Eastern Europe which were threatened with collapse.

Thus, both in the East and West modern education has been espoused by Jewry with an ardour unequalled by any other nation. Not content with the various types of Jewish and non-Jewish schools and colleges already enumerated they have also established private boarding-schools in England and on the Continent, which generally comprise pupils from a variety of countries sent by their parents to acquire a higher-grade education in a Jewish atmosphere; and apart from the facilities provided by public scholarships for the prosecution of advanced



studies there is a special committee or society in several communities for assisting youths of exceptional talent to complete their training and obtain a footing in the professional world. The success with which modern Jews have adopted secular learning is shown by their abnormally high participation in the liberal professions and their achievements in the intellectual world, one of the most striking testimonies consisting in the unusually large number of Jewish professors at the universities in Germany and Austria, a proportion that would even be larger if we included Jewish professors who had adopted Christianity. The effects of modern education are not less striking among the masses of the Jewish population, not so much because of any scholastic distinction as on account of the complete revolution wrought in every sphere of Jewish life. The specifically Jewish language, such as Yiddish and Ladino, is gradually discarded in favour of the vernacular; Hebrew education, except in Eastern Europe, is relegated to an insignificant place beside the secular curriculum; the religious bases of the home are being rudely shaken by the inroads of rationalism; and the widening of economic opportunity that comes of a better education is transforming the industrial aspect of Jewry and bringing it into close and constant contact with its non-Jewish surroundings.

All the distinctive features of Jewish life, material and spiritual, economic and intellectual, are being slowly assimilated to its environment. Half of the Jews in the world still speak Yiddish, read books and newspapers in this language, and conduct all their affairs in this medium; but the rapidity with which the Jew from Eastern Europe picks up the language of his new homeland on settling in America, Argentina, or any other part of the globe, and the uninterrupted flow of migration to the Western and trans-oceanic countries, point to the declining importance of the Judæo-German tongue. In Turkey and the Balkans the great bulk of the Jews likewise still use Ladino as their principal medium of intercourse, but the profound political and intellectual upheaval that has taken place, supplemented by the systematic educational work of the Jewish organizations, will inevitably cause the restriction of the Judæo-Spanish tongue to an ever-diminishing circle. The benefits of modern learning have not been won without many a domestic tragedy, for the children of Eastern Jewish families settled in the West, puffed up by a sense of superiority derived from a higher education, often turn with contempt upon the Yiddish of their parents and spurn religious customs and

traditions which they associate therewith. Hence arise estrangements between children and parents whose effects are not confined to the home, for when once the children are emancipated from the religious control of the parents their absorption in the alien environment is often but a question of time.

## CHAPTER II

### JEWISH CULTURE

The comprehensiveness of Jewish culture—The linguistic aspect of Jewish literature—Development of Yiddish literature—Character of its mediæval period—Distinctive features of modern period—Present-day writers and tendencies—Character of modern Hebrew literature—Its earlier period—Phases of Romance and Realism—The Nationalist phase—Jewish music and art—The manifold promotion of Jewish culture.

IT is commonly supposed that the culture of the Jewish people is purely religious in character. This supposition is as erroneous as the widespread doctrine that the Jews are merely a religious community and is a natural corollary thereof, whilst it is partly derived from the fact that the Bible, the supreme product of the Hebrew genius, is in the main a work of religious inspiration. The scope of Jewish culture, however, is not merely spiritual in character : it embraces all other aspects and manifestations of intellectual activity, though not in the same degree as the culture of a Western nation rooted to the soil from which it is sprung and favoured in its many-sided development by natural, progressive forces. Although deprived of its land for nearly two thousand years, the Jewish people has not only preserved all the literary treasures that it created on its own soil, but continued to give literary expression in its own language to its thoughts, ideals, and emotions, in all the lands of its dispersion down to the present day. That the study of the Bible and the Talmud, with their accumulation of commentaries and super-commentaries, claimed its foremost attention and formed the principal anodyne in the long dark night of suffering is a fact that admits of little dispute ; but the pages of Jewish literature bear vivid and abundant evidence that there were always creative minds who were not so utterly absorbed in meditating on the Law as to be deaf to the inspiration of life itself or to the appeal of secular learning.

Jewish literature provides a faithful record of the ideals and longings that animated the people in different ages, of its sorrows and tribulations, its habits and customs, its foibles and superstitions. Like every other literature, so too that of

the Jewish people has not only its writers of liturgies and law-books, but also its poets and dramatists, its philosophers and moralists, its historians and chroniclers, its fabulists and romancers, its satirists and humorists, and it has withal a wealth of folk-lore and proverbs. The bulk of this literature was produced in the national language, Hebrew, which was never exclusively the language of prayer. Its makers, being everywhere in a minority in the lands of exile, were influenced in matters of form by alien writers: the poets of Spain modelled their style upon that of their Arabic contemporaries, and their brethren in Italy admiringly followed in the footsteps of Dante. But despite this adoption of foreign forms the literature of the Jewish people was essentially Jewish in character, in its language, its modes of thought, and its intellectual outlook; it had a unity of ideals despite the dispersion of its writers over a dozen lands; and it formed the collective product of the minds of the entire nation. Such was the character of Jewish literature until the end of the eighteenth century, when the acquisition of modern education and the growth of social intercourse with its non-Jewish neighbours brought about a change in the intellectual life of Jewry which has reached its most advanced state in the lands of liberty. Henceforth the Jews of the Western countries ceased to contribute solely to their national literature and left their brethren in the East as its main producers. They studied it, indeed, but as a literature of the past; they wrote learned and voluminous works upon it, and translated many of its masterpieces into their adopted tongue, particularly in Germany; but they no longer moved and had their being in it like their forefathers of old. For them it was a finished book, which required no continuation but merely a commentary. They did not, indeed, become utterly and suddenly divorced from the life and thought of their people, otherwise they would have ignored its literature too. But they devoted their principal energies in a growing measure to the service of the culture of their native country, they participated in the making of its literature and art, its music and drama, and co-operated in all the other fields of intellectual labour—science, medicine, law, politics, journalism. A certain remnant, it is true, still remained faithful to the literature of their people, but as they were unable to use Hebrew as a literary medium they wrote their works in their vernacular, many of which have found their way in the form of translations into the treasury of Hebrew literature. But these non-Hebrew works, even if not translated into Hebrew, dealing as they do

with Jewish life and thought, and inspired by Jewish ideals, have a rightful claim to belong to Jewish literature, just like the Arabic works of Saadyah or Maimonides or the Spanish works of Manasseh ben Israel. The writings of Zunz and Graetz, of Geiger and Munk, of Franzos and Zangwill, of Schechter and Dubnow, are products of the Jewish mind concerned with Jewish matters, and are all in their various ways contributions to Jewish culture.

No other literature has been composed in so many languages as Jewish literature, for no people has been scattered like Israel among so many different lands and continued to develop its national literature through centuries of exile. But just as the literature of every other nation is composed in the national tongue, so, too, the main body of Jewish literature, reflecting most faithfully the ideals, traditions, and tribulations of the people, is contained in Hebrew. The creation of this Hebrew literature never ceased and was never interrupted, not even by the advent of emancipation ; it has continued from the age of the Psalmists and the Prophets down to the present day, and has received a fresh and invigorating stimulus in recent years. But an important difference that distinguishes the ancient and mediæval periods from the modern is that formerly the entire nation, wheresoever scattered, was engaged in its production, whereas nowadays the makers of Hebrew literature are confined only to a small section of the people and are locally delimited, the chief centre of activity being Palestine. The modern output of Hebrew literature has been accompanied by a parallel development in Yiddish, which testifies to the intellectual fertility of the Jews in Eastern Europe, and which forms with it the twofold expression of the Jewish national genius that has been least affected by alien influence. For the Jews in Russia and Poland, living for centuries in a compact mass and endowed with all the features of a self-contained community, remained for the most part impervious to the ideas of education and progress that speedily seized their brethren in Western lands ; they continued to keep true to the ancient ideals, and gave utterance to their thoughts and emotions either in the common national language or in the tongue which they had fashioned in their German exile. In this twofold medium they created a valuable and voluminous literature, comprising every form of prose and verse, lyric and epic, elegy and drama, satire and parody, the novel as fostered by different schools of romance, sentiment, and realism, the essay and biography, the sketch and feuilleton, apart from works on history,

science, and philosophy, and a periodical press remarkable both for its fertility and its variety.

The rise and development of Yiddish literature is one of the most striking phenomena in the annals of the Jewish people. Yiddish, which is an English transliteration of the German *Jüdisch* (itself elliptically used for *Jüdisch-Deutsch* or Judæo-German), is the name of the language which was spoken by the Jews in Germany in the Middle Ages, which they carried with them on their forced emigration in the sixteenth century into Poland, Lithuania, and Bohemia, and which now forms the principal medium of intercourse of more than six million people. Its basis is the High German of the Middle Rhine district, which was spoken by Jew and Christian alike; but it was written by the Jew in Hebrew characters, and upon being transplanted to Slavonic soil it absorbed many Russian and Polish words and inflexions from its new environment and appropriated many expressions and idioms from the Hebrew vocabulary, particularly those relating to religious matters, whilst it underwent slight variations of pronunciation and orthography in different regions, and has even annexed a great number of English words and phrases in its latter-day development in England and America. The rise and growth of Yiddish is as natural as that of any other language, but because it differs from modern classical German it is often branded as a bastard lingo and is even spoken of by its own writers as "Jargon." But its analogy with English, to which it is closely related, should suffice to redeem it from the obloquy that is unjustly cast upon it. For English is simply the development of the Low German dialect that the Angles and Saxons brought with them to the island of Britain in the fifth century, whilst Yiddish is the High German dialect that the Jews carried with them into Poland and Bohemia ten centuries later. The former was the speech of conquerors, the latter that of fugitives: hence the difference in their later evolution. But the growth of Yiddish is not unique in the vicissitudes of Israel. The Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492 and settled in Turkey took their Castilian mother-tongue with them and fashioned therefrom a Judæo-Spanish language; whilst their brethren in North Africa spoke and wrote a Judæo-Arabic tongue, and those in Persia a Judæo-Persian, all, like their Judæo-German counterpart, being written in Hebrew characters. But the surpassing importance of Yiddish consists in its being spoken by half of Jewry, and in forming the medium of a rich literature palpitating with living interest.

This history of Yiddish letters is divided into two periods by the advent of Moses Mendelssohn. The first or mediæval period is mainly distinguished by the production of translations and paraphrases of the Bible, as well as of folk-tales and folk-songs; whilst the latter period is marked by the output of novels, poems, and instructive works, which breathe a modern and critical spirit. The first Yiddish translation of the Pentateuch appeared in 1540, and that of the Old Testament more than a century later, in 1676; but the most characteristic and popular work of a religious nature was a homiletical paraphrase of the Bible, entitled *Ze'ena Ure'ena* ("Go ye forth and see")<sup>1</sup> and published in 1590, which embodied the pith of the principal mediæval commentaries and of the vast legendary lore of the Talmud, and which, with its quaint medley of parables and naïve moralizing, has formed the treasured companion of the pious Jew down to the present day. In the sphere of secular literature the supreme place is held by the *Ma'ase-Buch* ("Story Book"), a compilation of over three hundred stories drawn from the Talmud, the Midrash, and the Cabbala, from the saga cycles of Germany and the fables of India and Arabia, which appeared in Western Germany at the end of the sixteenth century. Apart from this main collection a multitude of other tales was produced, for every Jewish town evolved its own cycle of stories; celebrated characters, such as the founder of the Chassidic sect, inspired romances dealing with their exploits; and many of the popular romances of mediæval Europe, such as those about King Arthur and Bevis of Hampton, likewise found their way into the Yiddish garner. But the literary spirit of the mediæval Jew also found utterance in verse, and a host of folk-songs, the product of ready rhymesters who wandered troubadour-like from town to town and sang their lays in the streets and inns of the Ghetto, remain to tell us of the hopes, the sorrows, and the joys of a bygone age.

The transition to the modern period of Yiddish literature was ushered in by Mendelssohn's rendering of the Pentateuch into pure German (1780-83). This translation was at once the symbol and the most important expression of a movement which was destined to have a profound and lasting influence upon the development of the Jewish people—the movement for the espousal of modern culture. The *Haskalah*, or "Enlightenment," as this intellectual reformation was called, preached the adoption of the vernacular and secular education, the abandon-

<sup>1</sup> Canticles iii. 11.

ment of all Ghetto peculiarities of dress, and assimilation in all things not pertaining to religion, to the ways and customs of the surrounding population. The effect of this teaching of Mendelssohn and his disciples, coupled with the growth of social intercourse between Jews and Christians, was that the Jews of Germany began to look with disdain upon Yiddish literature and ceased to take part in its production. Henceforth the cultivation of Yiddish letters was conducted alone by their brethren on the east of the German frontier, who displayed a creative energy and critical faculty far exceeding those of the earlier period. Although the Jews of this region remained loyal to the despised "Jargon" they nevertheless studied German literature, and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century their writers were under the spell of German culture. They modelled their poetical productions upon the style of Schiller and Lessing; they wrote satires upon the customs and superstitions of the *Chassidim*; and they sought in divers ways to bring home to the masses the blessings of secular knowledge and of a practical view of life. This didactic tendency continued until the advent of Solomon Jacob Abramowitsch, who was the first to give a really modern note to Yiddish literature. Endowed with a rich imagination, with acute observation, and with a masterly style, Abramowitsch, who wrote mostly under the quaint *nom de plume* of "Mendele the Bookseller," has depicted the kaleidoscopic life of his people in the Russian Pale in a series of novels and dramas, marked by a vein of satire and a spirit of criticism, which are possessed of high worth both as artistic works and as historic documents.<sup>1</sup> The best of his prose works, *Die Kliatsche* ("The Dobbin") is an allegory on the storm-tossed life of the Jew, whilst his *Judel* ("The Jew"), the only epic in Yiddish literature, narrates with glowing passion the various phases in the chronicles of Israel from the days of Pharaoh down to the modern era of anti-Semitism. Abramowitsch, who was born in 1835 and died in 1917, exercised a stimulating influence upon his generation, which manifested itself in an increased literary activity that continued until the Russian Revolution.

The most popular writers after Abramowitsch, specimens of whose works are accessible in a modern language, were Solomon Rabinowitsch (1859-1916), better known as *Shalom Aleichem* ("Peace unto you!"), who was at once poet, playwright, novelist, and critic, and whose volatile wit and vivid char-

<sup>1</sup> A characteristic specimen of his work, in an English translation, is *Fishke the Lame*, rendered by Dr. A. S. Rappoport (Hutchinson & Co., 1929).



acterization are best displayed in *Stempenyu*, the romance of a humble violinist<sup>1</sup>; Isaac Loeb Perez (1851-1915), a prolific writer of stories, sketches, and poems, whose ballad, "The Sewing of the Wedding Gown," surpasses Hood's "Song of the Shirt" in pathos and technique<sup>2</sup>; and Morris Rosenfeld (1862-1922), transplanted to the New York Ghetto, where the grind of the sweat-shop drew from him some of the most passionate lyrics in the Yiddish tongue.<sup>3</sup> From the beginning of this century the treasury of Yiddish literature has been greatly enriched by many writers in the United States, of whom the most notable are the novelists Shalom Asch and Joseph Opatashu, the playwrights Ezekiel Leavitt and Perez Hirschbein, and the poet Solomon Bloomgarden ("Yehoash"), the producer of a splendid translation of the Bible. In Europe the principal writers are Jonah Rosenfeld and Isaac Weissenberg, novelists living in Poland, and Zalman Schneur, settled in Paris, whilst in Soviet Russia, where Bolshevism exercises a paralysing influence upon literary creativeness, there is only one author of distinction, Perez Markish, who is both a novelist and poet.

But an enumeration of all these writers and a characterization of their works can afford but a faint conception of the multifarious wealth of this literature, or of the feverish activity by which it is animated. For the denizens of the Ghetto have been brought into close intellectual communion with the Western world. All the great writers of European literature, from Shakespeare and Boccaccio down to Victor Hugo and Tolstoy, besides most of the popular modern authors, have been rendered into Yiddish; and hundreds of daily newspapers, magazines, and literary annuals, are issuing from the presses of Poland, America, and other lands in which Yiddish-speaking Jews have settled in large numbers. It is inevitable that the children of the East European immigrants settled in Western countries, particularly in England, America, and Argentina, should become estranged from the literary fare of their fathers; but the compactness of the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, the vigour of their intellectual life and their self-imposed aloofness from the culture of the nations around them,

<sup>1</sup> An English translation by Hannah Berman has been published by Methuen & Co. (1913). A collected edition of Shalom Aleichem's works in 20 volumes appeared in New York in 1918-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Stories and Pictures*, by Isaac L. Perez, translated by Helena Frank. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> There are two collections of translations in English: *Songs of the Ghetto* (Copeland, Boston, 1898) and *Songs of Labour* (Badger, Boston, 1914).

as well as the large immigrant element in the New World, are likely to prolong the life of Yiddish and its literature for at least another fifty years.<sup>1</sup>

Yiddish literature is the literature of the masses, produced, it is true, by men of intellect with a glow of genius, but intended for the great majority of the people whose knowledge of Hebrew has been confined mainly to the prayer-book and the Bible. The new Hebrew literature which developed simultaneously was at first cultivated only in educated circles, but it gradually penetrated to the masses too. In character it presents a radical contrast to the literature of the ancient and mediæval periods, for it is marked by a spirit of revolt against Rabbinical tradition and re-echoes with the voice of the critic and the rationalist. It comprises a succession of romances, poems, and satires, which faithfully depict the lights and shadows of life in the old Russian Pale; it includes a number of critical and philosophical studies dealing with the manifold problems of present-day Jewry; it embraces a growing array of works reflecting the new Jewish life arising in Palestine; and it has a widely ramified periodical press, which is increasing in vigour and volume from year to year. The language in which this modern literature is composed is in all essentials the same as that of the chroniclers, the psalmists, and the prophets of ancient Israel, developed and amplified to respond to all the latest needs of modern civilization, and fashioned into a facile instrument of modern thought. The propagation of the national idea during the last fifty years has given a powerful impetus, intensified during the last decade and a half, to the use of Hebrew both as a literary and a spoken tongue not only in Palestine but also in parts of Eastern Europe. In Palestine Hebrew has become the principal language of the Jewish community; it is the only medium through which the diverse elements of this community, drawn from Occident and Orient, can understand one another; it is the language of the school and the home, of the shop and the bank, of the mart and the field, of the lecture-room and the conference hall. All the Jewish newspapers, reviews, and books of the country are printed in it, and with the growth of the community, nourished and inspired by national ideals, it is inevitable that Hebrew literature will witness a new age of efflorescence in the land to which it owes its finest fruits.

<sup>1</sup> There is a critical and instructive essay on "The Yiddish Press—an Americanizing Agency," by Dr. Mordecai Soltes, in the *American Jewish Year-Book* for 5685 (1924), pp. 165-372.

The Renaissance of Hebrew letters, which assumed its most vigorous and creative form in Lithuania, was preceded by a period of preparation in different countries. It was inaugurated in 1743 by Moses Haim Luzzatto, in Italy, with his allegorical drama, *Praise to the Righteous*, and it was furthered in Germany by Naphtali Hartwig Wessely (1725-1905) with his epic on the Exodus, and in Holland by David Mendes (1763-92) with his adaptation of Racine's *Athalie*. But these works were for the most part literary and artistic exercises, which bore little or no relation to contemporary life. It was in Galicia that the Hebrew writers, Rapaport, Krochmal, Erter, and Letteris, first derived their themes from the conditions and spirit of their time and expressed in various works the critical attitude that was slowly spreading in intellectual circles; but even their activity had little or no influence upon the masses. The real ferment began in Vilna, where in 1830 a literary circle called the "Berliners"—a frank acknowledgment of Mendelssohnian influence—was founded for the cultivation of Hebrew literature and the advancement of Humanism. Its foremost figures were the poet, Abraham Beer Lebensohn (1794-1880), and the prose-writer, Mordecai Aaron Ginzburg (1795-1846). First a teacher and then a pedlar, Lebensohn, who was a free-thinker and pessimist, was the first to give passionate utterance in a cycle of poems to the misery of his people. His philosophy of despair is summed up in the line:

"All human life is like the lightning that precedes  
The thunderbolt of death."

Ginzburg was the first master of modern Hebrew prose, whose principal work, an autobiography, criticizes the defective education of his day, whilst Isaac Beer Levinsohn (1788-1860), who is styled the Mendelssohn of Russia, also devoted his main activity to modernizing Jewish education.

All these writers, however, did not exercise such a decisive and far-reaching influence as Calman Shulman (1826-1900), who, by his universal history in ten volumes and his universal geography on a similar scale, popularized Hebrew literature among the masses. His great achievement was the founding of the Romantic movement by his translation in 1847 of Sue's *Mysteries of Paris*, which may be regarded as the most notable event in Hebrew literature since the invention of a Hebrew prosody by the mediæval singers of Spain. The romantic spirit found its first original expression in Abraham Mapu, whose *Love of Zion*, an idyllic story of Amnon and Tamar, is

the first prose work of creative imagination in Hebrew. But the stress of life soon caused the taste for Romance to be replaced by the wish for Realism, which was also exemplified by Mapu in *The Hypocrite*, a novel exposing the tyrannous persecution of the votaries of modern learning by fanatical Rabbis. Both in the fields of Romance and Realism, however, Mapu was overshadowed by Judah Loeb Gordon (1830-92), the greatest Hebrew poet since the Middle Ages, whose dramatic poems display artistic perfection and throb with the passion of a rebel spirit. Gordon's was the bitterest protest against the Rabbinical code as the foe to progress :

"By cords of precepts are we all enchained,  
By fetters of inane and galling rules.  
No more do strangers persecute our lives,  
But our own kin. Our hands are bound no more,  
But shackles clog our soul."

But he was also moved to despair by the pogroms and by the general helplessness of his people, exclaiming :

"Whereto shall I compare thee, people mine,  
Thee and thy vast and variegated lore ?  
Unto a giant stricken prostrate, slain,  
With all the earth thy yawning sepulchre,  
Thy lore an epitaph for endless time."

The critical phase represented by Gordon was superseded by the national idealism which now dominates Hebrew literature and which was heralded by the work of Perez Smolenskin (1842-85). Reared from childhood like all the other writers in a Talmudic atmosphere, and seized in early manhood with modern tendencies, Smolenskin saw the only effective remedy for the ills of his people in its restoration to the land of its origin, and he accordingly dedicated his life to the propagation of Jewish nationalism. The medium of his mission was the review *Hashachar* ("The Dawn"), which he founded in Vienna and which enjoyed the co-operation of the best Hebrew writers of Europe ; but he owes his popularity at least in equal measure to his novels, which present a graphic and critical description of the conditions of Jewish life in his day, rounded off by a Zionist romance. It is Zionism that is the main source of inspiration of all subsequent writers, among whom the foremost place is held by Asher Ginzberg (1856-1927), better known as *Achad Ha'am* ("One of the People"). The distinguishing achievement of Ginzburg was the creation of a system of thought designated as Spiritual Zionism, which regards the establish-

ment of a centre of national culture in Palestine as the paramount need of modern Jewry : a conception that supplements the political and economic postulates of Zionism. In the poetical world the two outstanding figures are Chaim Nachman Bialik, an impassioned votary of the national idea, who is ranked by some even higher than Gordon (though his muse has been silent since his settlement in Palestine), and Saul Tchernichowsky, who has drunk of Hellenic springs and dedicates his muse to love and nature.

The labourers in the field of Hebrew letters are now too numerous to mention, for the growth of the new Judæa has given a powerful impetus to literary productivity. Schneur, Schimonowitz, and Jacob Cahan, the poets, Sokolow, the essayist, Berdiczewski, Brenner, and Smiliansky, the novelists, Klausner, the historian, and Neumark and Klatzkin, the philosophers—these and a multitude of others have enriched Hebrew literature with works that can compare in excellence of content and variety of interest with many a European literature, for all the phases of Jewish life, its internal problems and external conflicts, find vivid expression in the ancient language that has renewed its youth. Comparatively young though the new community in Palestine is, it has given birth to the monumental Hebrew dictionary of Ben Jehuda, and for the smallness of its size it probably contains more writers—actual and potential—than any other national community on earth. But though composed in an ancient tongue, Hebrew literature to-day has a modern impress, for its makers have all imbibed the culture of Europe, and, as though to manifest their appreciation, they have added to their literature fluent and faithful renderings of the works of great writers of all ages—Shakespeare and Goethe, Byron and Nietzsche.

Literature is only one of many channels in which the Jewish genius least affected by alien influence has sought expression, for it has also found utterance in drama, music, and art. The Yiddish drama was founded by Abraham Goldfaden, who derived most of its themes from Biblical and mediæval history ; it was developed in America first by Jacob Gordon and then by abler playwrights like David Pinski and Perez Hirschbein ; and it was raised to a high level by the finished and impressive acting of the Yiddish Art Theatre in New York, of the State Yiddish Theatre in Moscow, and of the famous " Vilna Troupe." The masterly performances of *The Dibbuk* in various capitals have won for the Yiddish drama the widespread recognition and unstinted admiration of the cultured world. And

similar praise has been achieved for the Hebrew drama, thanks to the powerful acting of the "Habima" company, which, originating in Moscow, has toured through Europe, America, and Palestine. Hebrew opera has become a striking feature of the intellectual life in Palestine, where the thirst for dramatic and operatic art soon found satisfaction in the struggling community. Jewish music, apart from that of the Synagogue, has its distinctive quality, a fusion of Oriental motives with the pathos of exile, which resounds in a growing collection of operas, songs, and ballads, and has found moving expression in Ernest Bloch's "Israel" Symphony and the compositions of Maurice Ravel. There is also a distinctive note in the work of Jewish painters who have been reared in a Jewish milieu and are inspired by Jewish themes, such as Hermann Struck, Leopold Pilichowsky, and the late Samuel Hirszenberg. The range of Jewish art, which includes a special manifestation in the form of book-plates with Hebrew designs and traditional symbols, is developing under the stimulating influence of the new Palestine, one of the finest products of which is Abel Pann's wonderful series of colourful illustrations of the Bible.

The world of Jewish culture, however, as already observed, is not confined to Eastern Europe or Palestine, for in all the communities throughout the globe there is a certain amount of purely Jewish intellectual activity which lies quite outside the domain of religion, and the most distinguished representatives of which are sometimes even estranged from the synagogue. This activity expresses itself in a multitude of forms—creative and critical, popular and scientific. Novels, poems, and plays by Jewish authors, dealing in a modern language with Jewish themes, are now a regular feature of modern literature; but far more energetic and fertile is the activity that is concerned with the history and literature of Israel, with his religion and philosophy. The most numerous and valuable contributions in this sphere have been made by the Jews in Germany, who, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, devoted themselves to the scientific research of the intellectual treasures of their people—"die Wissenschaft des Judentums," as they called it—and have produced many standard works, such as the comprehensive history by Graetz, the studies on the liturgy by Zunz, and the exposition of the ethics of Judaism by Lazarus. The most notable works by Russian Jews are the philosophical essays by "Achad Ha'am" and Dubnow's history of the Jews in ten volumes. But important additions to this branch of literature have also been made in England and America, in

France and Austria, during the last forty or fifty years. By far the most considerable piece of work is the *Jewish Encyclopædia* (1901-6), the collective product of 600 scholars, which is now being supplemented by two German publications, the *Encyclopædia Judaica* (issued in Hebrew too) and the *Jüdisches Lexicon*. Moreover, the study of the past is cultivated in a host of learned periodicals, mainly in Hebrew, German, English, and French; and there are special societies for the dissemination of literary works, both old and new, the largest being the Jewish Publication Society of America, which has about 9000 members and issues four new books every year. On the Continent the most important publication society is the German "Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums," which issues authoritative works on all branches of Jewish history, literature, and theology, publishes a *Monatsschrift*, and subventions learned works that would otherwise be unable to see the light. The conservation of Jewish culture is also furthered by the popular literary societies that abound in nearly every community, by the historical and academic societies in the principal countries, and by a host of Jewish libraries and reading-rooms.

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### CHAPTER III

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO GENERAL CULTURE AND PROGRESS

The promotion of culture in mediæval and modern times—Contributions to Literature—Activity in Journalism—Drama and Music—The plastic arts—Philosophy, Scholarship, Mathematics—Scientific discovery and invention—The advance of Medical Science—Exploration—Causes of humanity—Nobel prize-winners.

THE intellectual products of the Jewish people created within the bosom of the community and bearing the specific impress of their origin represent but a fraction of Jewish achievements in the world of culture. The mind of the Jew was never absorbed entirely in his traditional lore : throughout the Middle Ages he co-operated in the dissemination of knowledge and the advancement of science in Europe, distinguishing himself particularly in the fields of philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and exploration. The Jews gave an impetus to the progress of philosophical thought through the influence they exercised upon the Scholastic movement ; they founded the medical schools of Montpellier and Salerno and produced most of the famous physicians until the sixteenth century ; they discovered long before Copernicus the cause of the alternation of day and night ; and they not only contributed in men and means to the voyage of Columbus, but also took a prominent part in the discovery of the East Indies and explored nearly the whole of the world known in mediæval times. Notable as their share in the advances of civilization had already been, it became much more vigorous after their admission to the rights of citizenship and their adoption of modern education, and it steadily grew in volume and importance throughout the nineteenth century until there is now not a single sphere of intellectual effort and aspiration in which they are not active.

In the fields of literature and journalism, of the drama, music and art, philosophy and philology, mathematical science and medical research, technical invention and exploration, and in the highest sphere of human activity—the cause of



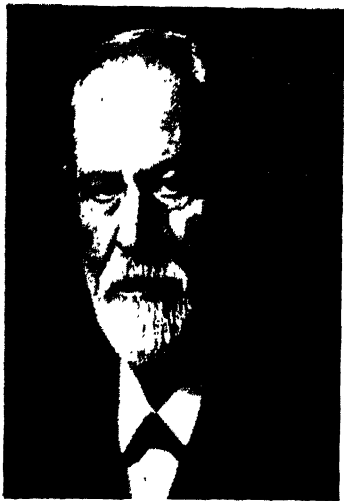
peace—the Jews are now working side by side with the members of other nations, with whom they can bear comparison not only in respect of industry and capacity, but also in respect of zeal and self-sacrifice, whilst in certain spheres, such as medicine, scientific invention, and exploration, they have made original contributions of surpassing value. Despite the reproaches of clannishness and separatism, the Jews are devoting to the service of general culture and progress far more energy and activity than they display in the cultivation of their own national literary treasures, and in the process of time this deflection of interest may even extend. Their share in the intellectual labours of the present day is all the more striking when viewed in relation to their proportion to the world's population, and a brief survey will suffice to show that both in scope and worth it far transcends the grudging estimate of writers like Houston Chamberlain, who would deny the Jew all genius and creative power. A people that has produced four such epoch-makers as Moses, Jesus, Spinoza, and Karl Marx has amply justified its title to intellectual and spiritual originality, and a consideration of the achievements of such men as Heine, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Israels, Ehrlich, Einstein, and a host of others who have won renown in various fields of human endeavour in our own time, will show in what a high degree the Jew has furthered the welfare, enlarged the knowledge, and enhanced the ideals of mankind.

The sphere in which the Jews first began to co-operate in a conspicuous measure with their fellow-citizens in the intellectual world was that of literature. Scarcely had they learned the language of their country than they began to contribute to its literary treasury as poets and novelists, as philosophers and historians, as essayists and satirists. The creative imagination which had formerly revealed itself in passionate odes to Zion now found its inspiration nearer at hand, in the life of the surrounding people, in its national traditions, its intellectual aspirations, its political struggles. The ardour with which the Jews threw themselves into the intellectual movements of their native countries is best illustrated by the literary *salons* of Berlin at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, which owed their creation to Jewish women like Henrietta Herz, Rahel Levin, and Dorothea and Henriette Mendelssohn, and the glory of which passed away with their charming creators. It is in Germany that the share of the Jews in the development of the national literature has been more intimate and extensive than in any other country. From the

days of Moses Mendelssohn, who laid the foundations of German æsthetics and literary criticism, radically influenced the *Laokoon* of Lessing, and introduced the leading thinkers of England and France to the German public, the Jews have contributed a succession of notable works to German literature and are represented in all its branches. Heine, the most splendid lyrist of his ungrateful country, is the brightest star in this galaxy of Jewish writers, which includes Ludwig Boerne, who stirred reactionary Prussia with his political writings, Berthold Auerbach, who delighted the people with his novels for forty years, the literary historians Karpeles and Geiger, and a score or more of eminent living writers—the poets Hofmannsthal and Mombert, the novelists Schnitzler, Lion Feuchtwanger, Georg Hermann, and Jacob Wassermann, the essayist and biographer Emil Ludwig, and the prince of German humorists, Julius Stettenheim. The fecundity and originality displayed by modern Jewish authors have brought upon them the reproach that they are “judaizing” German literature and have given a new turn to anti-Semitism, but an impartial critic like Kurt Martens actually assigns them a certain superiority over their Teutonic fellow-writers and ventures the belief that “the greatest poetic creations of our German future will some day issue from a blending of the German with the Jewish spirit.”<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not a little significant that the three most popular war-songs in Germany were composed by Jews: the *Hassgesang* of Ernst Lissauer, *Anne-marie* of Julius Freund, and *Drüben am Wiesenstrand* by Hugo Zuckermann.

In other countries the part played by Jews in the literary world is of somewhat later date, but it is none the less of high significance. Denmark has produced the greatest literary critic of our time, Georg Brandes; in Italy we meet the names of the poet Romanelli and the historian of Venice, Romanin; in France, creative writers like Marcel Proust and Catulle Mendes; in Holland, the novelists Heyermanns and Querido; in Hungary, the popular ballad-writer, Joseph Kiss; in Czechoslovakia, the novelist Max Brod; and in England, apart from Benjamin Disraeli, who was brought up in Christianity from childhood, we have the novelist and playwright, Israel Zangwill, the editor of England's *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee, the English scholar Israel Gollancz, the novelists G. B. Stern and Gilbert Frankau, the poets

<sup>1</sup> Kurt Martens, *Literatur in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1910), p. 161.



PROF. SIGMUND FREUD



PROF. HENRI BERGSON



PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN



PROF. PAUL EHRLICH



Siegfried Sassoon and Humbert Wolfe, the essayist and historian Philip Guedalla, the versatile biographer Lewis Melville, and a score of writers on various subjects. During the last two decades quite a host of first-rate writers have arisen in the United States, of whom the best known are the novelists Fanny Hurst, Ludwig Lewisohn, and Waldo Frank, the poets Louis Untermeyer and Maxwell Bodenheim, and the literary critics Albert Mordell and Isaac Goldberg. South African Jewry has also produced a writer of more than local fame in the novelist Sarah Millin. Nor can we overlook the part played by Jews in the dissemination of literature, whether as translators of great writers (Maeterlinck, Nietzsche, and Hauptmann, owing their English versions, and Galsworthy his vogue in German countries, to Jews) or in the publishing trade, in which firms like S. Fischer of Berlin, Calmann Levy of Paris, and Brentano's of New York, stand in the front rank of their respective countries.

The activity displayed in the realm of journalism is even more extensive than in that of literature. It comprises the founding of the leading international news agencies, the ownership and editorship of some of the leading Continental newspapers, and collaboration on a countless host of papers in all parts of the world. The first great news agency that established a systematic service of correspondence in all parts of the world was that created by Baron Reuter, whilst the agencies of Wolff and Hirsch are of not less importance on the Continent. The *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Vossische Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Neue Freie Presse*, and *Pester Lloyd*, five of the leading organs in Central Europe, are both owned and edited by Jews, but these do not exhaust the list of periodicals that are under their entire or partial control, as there are many other journals that are both owned and edited by Jews, or owned by Jews and edited by non-Jews, or owned by non-Jews and edited by Jews. Thus, the *Prager Tageblatt*, which so valiantly defends the interests of the German element in Czecho-Slovakia, has a Christian proprietor, but its editorial staff is mostly made up of Jews. In America the *New York World* was first raised to a position of influence by Joseph Pulitzer, whilst a similar service was rendered to the *New York Times* by its owner Adolph S. Ochs. As for Jewish collaboration on the world's press, whether as members of the editorial staff, external contributors, or foreign correspondents, their name is indeed legion, and many of them during the last three or four decades have played an important part in the political world. Suffice

it to mention such names<sup>1</sup> as Lucien Wolf and Sydney Low in England, Walter Lippman in the United States, Bernard Lazare and Jean Finot (Finkelstein) in France, Maximilian Harden, Theodor Wolf and Georg Bernhardt in Germany, Siegmund Münz and Heinrich Friedjung in Austria, and Max Nordau, who was active before the War as Paris correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Neue Freie Presse*, and *La Nación*. The great part played by the Jews in the newspaper world has often formed the ground of bitter attacks on the part of the Continental anti-Semites who have complained that they exploit their position to further specific Jewish interests, without regard to the welfare of their own country. But repeatedly as this allegation has been made, not a shred of evidence has yet been offered in its support. Such papers as the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* are the best edited organs of Radical opinion in Germany, but they foster Jewish interests only in so far as they advocate the general cause of political progress in Germany—a policy that is regarded as “anti-national” only by the Prussian *Junker* party. The fact is that Jewish journalists are almost wholly absorbed in the politics of their respective countries, are generally identified with a particular party, and frequently find themselves in opposing camps: the one cause that unites them is the cause of peace, which certainly nobody can characterize as anti-patriotic. Moreover, a good portion of their activity is devoted to writings of a non-political nature, among which they have cultivated with conspicuous success the fine art of the feuilleton.

The present century has also witnessed an increasing participation by Jews in the many-sided activity of the dramatic world on both sides of the Atlantic, whether as playwrights, actors, stage managers, or critics. There is not a single cultured country in which one cannot in the course of the winter season see some drama that has either been written by a Jew, or in which a leading part is played by a Jew, or which is under Jewish stage-management. Alfred Sutro in England, Montague Glass in America, Henri Bernstein and Porto Riche in France, Ludwig Fulda, Oscar Blumenthal, Richard Beer-Hoffmann, and Ernst Toller in Germany, Arthur Schnitzler in Austria, Franz Molnar in Hungary, Herman Héyermanns in Holland, and Henry Nathansen in

<sup>1</sup> Henri de Blowitz, the famous Paris correspondent of *The Times*, vigorously denied that he was of Jewish birth (*My Memoirs*, London, 1906, Edward Arnold).

Denmark,—these are among the best known and most popular playwrights of the present day, and they do not by any means exhaust the roll of living Jewish dramatists. As directors and managers of theatres the Jews are numerous represented not only in Germany and Austria, where the most famous of them, Max Reinhardt, has created an artistic revolution in the production of plays, but also in the United States, where Belasco, Daniel Frohmann, and Morris Gest, are at the head of their profession.<sup>1</sup> To the stage, for which the Jew is particularly fitted by temperament, Jewry has presented such notable figures as Rachel Felix, the most thrilling interpreter of Corneille and Racine, Adolf von Sonnenthal, the greatest actor of Austria, and Ludwig Barnay, acclaimed by German critics as a histrionic genius; and from its midst has sprung the greatest actress of the last century, Sarah Bernhardt, as well as a host of actors and actresses of eminent rank. In the allied world of music we also encounter a number of illustrious names, belonging partly to a former generation and partly to this, and sufficing to rebut the charge of Wagner that Jews were devoid of musical genius. Among eminent composers are Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Meyerbeer, Offenbach, Goldmark, Bruch, Fromental Halévy, Frederic Cowen, and the modernist Arnold Schoenberg, whilst the famous instrumentalists of our time include Joseph Joachim, Mark Hambourg, Mischa Elman, Jascha Heifetz, Ephraim Zimbalist, Benno Moiseiwitsch, Fritz Kreisler, and Harold Samuel, whose performances have entranced crowded and critical audiences throughout the globe. Jews have also done much for the advancement of opera, especially in America, for thanks to the gifted management of Oscar Hammerstein and the generous patronage of Otto Kahn, New York has become the operatic centre of the world; and they can boast of brilliant conductors like Bruno Walter (Schlesinger), Gustav Mahler, and Walter Damrosch. Light comic opera has been cultivated with conspicuous success by Oscar Strauss, Leo Fall, and Jean Gilbert (Max Winterfeld), whilst jazz music owes its world-wide popularity to the inventiveness of several young Jews, particularly Irving Berlin and George Gershwin, the former of whom "has set more feet dancing and more mouths whistling than any other single per-

<sup>1</sup> "It has been estimated that of the plays produced during 1922 the authors of 40 per cent were Jews, and the professional art directors were one-third of the total. Of the 2000 actors about 10 per cent were Jews, while the majority of theatres in which productions were staged were in the hands of Jewish managers."—George Cohen in *The Jews in the Making of America*, pp. 145-146.

son.”<sup>1</sup> Perhaps even more prominent is the part that Jews have played in the development of the cinematograph, an entertainment industry of which the American magnates are Adolph Zukor, Jesse Lasky, and Samuel Goldwyn, men who have risen from obscurity by their own native ability, whilst its stars of Jewish origin include Carmel Myers (daughter of the late Rabbi Isidore Myers), Pola Negri (Pauline Schwarz), and Joseph Schildkraut. The talking film has leapt into popularity also with the aid of a Jew—the comedian Al Jolson.

The plastic arts form a comparatively new field of activity for the Jew, but he has already achieved sufficient to win the world's recognition of his genius therein. It had, indeed, been long maintained that the Jew had no capacity for the plastic arts, and the anti-Semite Dühring maintained that the religious prohibition of artistic representation was designed to conceal an inborn incompetence. But this reproach has long been rolled away by the magnificent work of Jewish painters and sculptors displayed during the last half-century in the leading art galleries of the world. Josef Israels was acknowledged to be the greatest representative of modern Dutch art; Marc Antokolski was the most eminent sculptor of Russia; Max Liebermann is modern Germany's most original and distinctive painter; Solomon J. Solomon and William Rothenstein are among the leading artists of England; whilst in France Camille Pissaro, in Austria Leopold Horowitz, in Italy Leopold Pollak, and in Poland (now in England) Leopold Pilichowski, have all given proof of the capacity of the Jew to shine in the plastic arts if only he is allowed the opportunity. A brilliant trio of sculptors consists of Jacob Epstein, whose originality of conception has often been the subject of controversy, Henry Glicenstein, who has a preference for Biblical subjects, and Moses Ezekiel, whose works are to be seen in the great galleries of America and Europe. The sons of Israel have also achieved fame in other branches of art: Hermann Struck as an etcher, Henry Ospovat as a bold caricaturist,<sup>2</sup> and Léon Bakst as a brilliant designer of scenery and costumes for the theatre.

The originality and versatility of the Jewish mind are abundantly illustrated by its distinction in science and philosophy, philology and archæology, law, mathematics and chess.

<sup>1</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, June 18, 1925, in a review of *The Story of Irving Berlin*, by Alexander Woollcott (Putnam).

<sup>2</sup> *The Work of Henry Ospovat*. With an appreciation by Oliver Onions (London, St. Carine Press, 1911).



The Jews have made good use of the right to study at the universities, which was originally denied to them, for they now occupy professorial chairs in almost all subjects, in most of the great seats of learning in Europe and America, and have advanced the bounds of human knowledge in countless directions. By far the most brilliant intellect of our time, and indeed of the last two centuries, is Albert Einstein, author of the theory of relativity, who has wrought a veritable revolution in our conception of time and space and their relations to the universe, and who is ranked by the leading thinkers of the day with Galileo, Kepler, and Newton. The metaphysical world is now dominated by Henri Bergson's idea of creative evolution,<sup>1</sup> which has exercised as profound an influence as the teachings of Kant, whilst the development of philosophical thought in the nineteenth century received a notable impetus from Herman Cohen, who moulded the minds of Germany's Radical thinkers at the Marburg University, and from Herman Steinthal, who founded the science of racial psychology. The new psychology, or the theory of psycho-analysis, which has gained adherents throughout the world, owes its origin to Siegmund Freud, who has founded a new teaching in regard to the interpretation of dreams, in connexion with which important developments have been made by two other Viennese Jews, Carl Gustav Jung and Alfred Adler.

The history of philological science is studded with Jewish names: Graziadio Ascoli opened out new paths in the study of comparative philology and the science of phonology; Arminius Vambéry mastered all the languages and dialects of Central Asia and traced the origin of the Magyar tongue; Michel Bréal wrote an annotated translation of Bopp's epoch-making Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages, which is regarded as superior to the original; James Darmesteter translated the *Avesta* into both English and French and added to our knowledge of the Persian and Afghan tongues, and his brother Arsène, with Adolphe Hatzfeld, compiled a French dictionary that superseded the work of Littré; Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg have thrown light upon the Himyaritic and Sabæan inscriptions; and Ignaz Goldziher was the first to give a critical history of Arabic traditions, which is highly prized by Arabs themselves. In the study of archæology Jules Oppert was the first who definitely identified the site of ancient Babylon and led the way in the interpretation of its contract tablets, Salomon Reinach has made important

<sup>1</sup> Bergson was the first Jew to be elected to the French Academy.

researches in Roman and Greek archæology, and Charles Waldstein (Walston) has conducted excavations on the site of ancient Plataea. In the field of jurisprudence Tobias Asser in Holland and Josef Unger in Austria have made masterly and enduring contributions to the theory and practice of international law. From the formidable list of eminent mathematicians it must suffice to mention Georg Cantor, who invented the theory of transfinite numbers, and Karl Jacobi, who made epoch-making discoveries in the field of elliptical functions; Minkowski, who is a leading authority on the theory of numbers, and Weingarten, whose authority is supreme on the theory of surfaces; Schwarzschild, the director of the Göttingen Observatory, and Slonimski, the inventor of a counting-machine; Kronecker, the greatest algebraist of his time, Hadamard, the author of "Hadamard's theorem," and James Sylvester, who discovered the proof and extension of Newton's theorem on the imaginary roots of equations and shared with his collaborator Cayley the leadership in pure mathematics in England in the nineteenth century. The genius of the Jew for pure mathematics explains his supremacy in the game of chess, some notable champions of which—Zuckertort, Steinitz, Lasker—have sprung from the Jewish fold.

The achievements of the Jew in the world of science are even more striking, for to him are due some of the most wonderful discoveries and inventions of the last hundred years.<sup>1</sup> It was Ferdinand Cohn and Nathaniel Pringsheim who revolutionized the study of botany by their discoveries concerning the sexuality of plants and who created the first institutes for botanical physiology in Germany. It was Josef Oesterreicher who discovered Glauber salts, Aaron Aaronson who discovered primitive wild wheat in Palestine, Hermann Goldschmidt who discovered several minor planets, Gabriel Lippmann who discovered the process of colour photography, Josef Poppner who discovered the transmission of power by electricity, Albert Michelson who determined the velocity of light, and Heinrich Hertz who, by his researches in the production of electro-magnetic waves, paved the way for wireless telegraphy. The electric thermometer owes its invention to Peter Ries, the electrometer was invented by Hermann Aron, the microphone and gramophone were invented by Emil Berliner, the Graetzin light owes its name to Leo Graetz (son of the Jewish

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of Jewish achievements in scientific invention as well as in medical research see *Juden als Erfinder und Entdecker*, by Ernst Heppner ("Welt" Verlag, Berlin, 1913).

historian, Heinrich Graetz), and the discovery and preparation of petroleum for lighting purposes were made by Abraham Schreiner, a Galician tradesman, in 1853, a year before its discovery in America. Fritz Haber, with the co-operation of Frank Caro, made the valuable discovery how to produce nitrogen from air, and, without co-operation, the less laudable discovery how to manufacture poison-gas. The photomaton was invented by a Russian Jew, Anatol Josephs, who landed in America in 1924 penniless and soon made a fortune; and the rotor-boat was devised by a German Jew, Dr. Flettner, on the basis of an old idea of the Jewish physicist, Dr. Heinrich Magnus. Moreover, there are four important inventions that were anticipated by Jews, but which, owing to lack of means and the caprice of fate, they were unable to perfect and put upon the market. Thus, the first electric automobile was created by M. Davidsohn in 1854, the first benzine-automobile by Siegfried Marcus in 1875, the first electric telephone by Philipp Reis in 1860 (seventeen years before the improved invention by Graham Bell), and the first rigid airship by David Schwarz in 1892. The fate of Schwarz, who struggled for years to secure the acceptance of his invention, was particularly sad, for after futile negotiations with the Austrian and Russian Governments he approached the German Government, and when at last, on January 13, 1897, a telegram from the German War Office, summoning him to Berlin for a trial flight, reached him in the street, he was so overwhelmed with joy that he fell dead on the spot. It was not until after the ascent of Schwarz's vessel, which took place in the presence of Count Zeppelin, that the latter proceeded to construct his first airship, for which he obtained the aluminium and propellers from the same works as Schwarz. It was a Jew, however, Karl Arnstein, who constructed and piloted the first American Zeppelin on its trial trip to America in October, 1924. Moreover, the pioneer of flying in Germany was also a Jew, Otto Lilienthal, to whom a public monument was unveiled in 1914 near Berlin, on the spot on which he met his death whilst experimenting.

Equally impressive is the record of Jewish achievement in the manifold advance of medical science, which has numbered Jews among its ablest and most zealous practitioners from the earliest time. The most remarkable discovery of our day, salvarsan, is due to the Jew Paul Ehrlich, the value of whose specific in suppressing the most maleficent disease of mankind is universally acknowledged; and to the same branch of therapeutics belongs the test discovered by August von

Wassermann, from whom it has received its name. The researches and discoveries of Jewish physicians in other branches of medical science are also of commanding importance. Albert Neisser, in 1879, at the age of twenty-four, discovered the bacillus of gonorrhœa, and introduced the method of local treatment which has since been universally adopted. Albert Fränkel was the first to expound the theory of the micrococci of pneumonia; Ludwig Traube was one of the greatest specialists of his day in experimental pathology and wrote many epoch-making monographs on digitalis, fever, and diseases of the lungs, heart, and kidneys; Benedikt Stilling was the first surgeon to introduce ovariectomy into Germany (1837), and his works on the central organs of the nervous system were crowned by the French Institute; Salomon Stricker made important discoveries in the histology of the cornea and the mechanism of lymphatic secretion; Sir Felix Semon was a leading English specialist in throat diseases and was physician-extraordinary to King Edward; Waldemar Haffkine, who was commissioned by the Government of India to inquire into the bacteriology of the plague in that country, discovered a method of inoculation by which he reduced the mortality nearly 90 per cent, and founded the Government Plague Research Laboratory which issues thousands of doses to various tropical countries; Friedrich Gustav Henle wrote standard works embodying notable discoveries concerning the cuticular root-sheath of the hair, the microscopical structure of the cornea, and the "loops of Henle" in the kidneys; Ludwig Jacobson in 1809 discovered a hitherto unknown absorptive organ in the human nose, which was named "the Jacobsonian organ," and invented several surgical appliances; Cesare Lombroso discovered the cause of pellagra, wrote epoch-making works on genius and crime, and "effected a revolution in the mode of viewing both the criminal and the crime which has found expression in the newer penal codes";<sup>1</sup> Alexander Marmorek discovered an antidote for tuberculosis; and David Nabarro co-operated in the discovery of the origin of sleeping-sickness.

Wanderers as the Jews have always been against their will, they have also travelled in the interests of science and brought light into unknown regions in various parts of the earth. Arminius Vambery was the first European who, at the peril of his life and in the disguise of a Sunnite dervish, penetrated through the Great Salt Desert to Samarcand and Herat. Emin Pasha, whose real name was Eduard Schnitzer, explored the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Max Nordau in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. VIII, p. 155.

Lakes Victoria and Albert Nyanza and was killed by a band of semi-Arabs. Hermann Burchardt explored the interior of Asia Minor and the Yemen and was murdered on the road from Mokha to Sanaa, and Eduard Glaser explored the whole of South Arabia with results that have revolutionized the study of its ancient monuments and of the history and geography of Ancient Arabia. Marc Aurel Stein has made remarkable archæological discoveries in Chinese Turkestan, Max von Oppenheim has unearthed the long-buried capital of a Hittite Empire in Central Mesopotamia, and Waldemar Jochelson has roamed through Northern Siberia and discovered among the aborigines two Yukaghir dialects hitherto considered extinct. Angelo Heilprin scaled the heights of Orizaba and Popocatepetl and led the Peary Relief Expedition to Greenland, and Professor Samoilovitch commanded the Russian ice-breaker *Krassin* that rescued General Nobile's ill-fated aerial expedition to the North Pole (1928). Even Nansen is a grandson of a Russian Jew named Nathansohn, and Sven Hedin is likewise the grandson of a Jew.

In addition to the foregoing spheres of activity, in which Jews have contributed so much to the enlightenment and betterment of mankind, to the increase of knowledge and the decrease of suffering, they have also laboured in other directions upon a broad cosmopolitan plane for the promotion of the welfare of humanity. Imre Kiralfy has organized international exhibitions; David Lubin founded the International Agricultural Institute at Rome; Ludwig Zamenhof created the most popular of international tongues, Esperanto; Felix Adler has striven to banish religious strife by the propagation of ethical culture; Ivan Blioch preached the futility of modern war long before Norman Angell and inspired the convening of the pre-War Hague Conferences; and Fried was the most assiduous apostle of the gospel of peace.

The distinction attained by Jews in the realms of scientific discovery and humanitarian endeavour is strikingly illustrated by the number who have received the Nobel prize, as shown in the following table on p. 246.<sup>1</sup>

Such, in brief, is the record of Jewish achievement in the various spheres of intellectual and idealist effort. It represents but a partial picture, however, of the labours of Jewry, for it contains the names only of those who have attained to more than local eminence; but there are thousands and tens of

<sup>1</sup> In 1910 the Nobel prize for Literature was awarded to Paul Heyse, who had a Jewish mother.

	Country.	Subject.	Year.
Albert Michelson .	United States	Physics	1907
Gabriel Lippmann .	France	Physics	1908
Paul Ehrlich .	Germany	Medicine	1908
Otto Wallach .	Germany	Chemistry	1910
Tobias M. Asser .	Holland }	Peace	1911
Alfred H. Fried .	Austria }		
Richard Willstätter .	Germany	Chemistry	1915
Fritz Haber .	Germany	Chemistry	1918
Albert Einstein .	Germany	Physics	1921
Otto Meyerhof .	Germany	Medicine	1923
Gustav Herz .	Germany }	Physics	1927
James Frank .	Germany }		
Henri Bergson .	France	Literature	1928

thousands who, if endowed with less ability, are working with equal zeal and industry in the various arts of civilization. This mere outline, however, attests an immense and impressive contribution to the advancement of the culture and progress of humanity, and yet it is the product only of one-half of Jewry, the half that has had the good fortune to enjoy the blessings of freedom and education. Who can say, when the cloud of oppression that still enwraps the other half has passed away and the slumbering talents of nameless myriads have been quickened into play, what further conquests in the realm of science, what further creations in the realm of fancy, will yet be added by Jewish genius to the enrichment of mankind?

## Book VI THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

### INTRODUCTION

Religion the prime factor in the conservation of Jewry—Its waning influence in modern times.

RELIGION is the chief dynamic force of Jewish life. It is the principal power that has protected the Jewish people from the ceaseless assaults that have been aimed against it throughout the ages. It has endowed Israel with a sublime system of ethical ideals, and found concrete expression in a number of institutions that form the essential basis of every community. Without Judaism Jewry could not have survived the sufferings and struggles of its long and widespread dispersion; without adhesion to the principles and practices of their faith, which necessitated segregation and excluded intermarriage, the Jews would long ago have become absorbed among the nations. Other peoples could exist without a distinctive religion, for they had their land, which formed the basis of their national existence; but for the Jews who were bereft of their land a distinctive religion—a faith which marked them off from all other peoples and united them in their dispersion—was the prime necessity of their existence. Their dispersion necessarily involved local differences of ecclesiastical organization, for whilst in the countries in which they enjoy absolute equality in civil and political life, such as England and America, they have no relations with the Government on the basis of their synagogical unions, they are, in Central and Eastern Europe, under the direct or indirect supervision of the State in the ordering of their religious affairs.

Despite these differences of organization, however, and despite local differences of custom and ritual, the great bulk of Jewry was until comparatively recent times bound together by a unity of faith which is almost without parallel in the family of religions. This unity was due to a strong attachment to tradition, which held undisputed sway in every land until it

was weakened, first by the disillusion that followed in the wake of the false Messiahs, secondly by civil and political emancipation which promoted social intercourse between Jews and Christians, and thirdly by the rationalism and scepticism diffused by modern education. The consequences of these various movements were that an increasing number of Jews deserted the fold in almost every country and intermarried with their Christian neighbours, and that, on the other hand, an attempt was made to reform the principles and customs of Judaism in accordance with the modern ideas generated by the spirit of the time and the influence of a liberal environment. These reforming efforts, however, have failed to check the secessions that are steadily going on, for the sovereignty of religious idealism has been usurped by material expediency. Hence the most powerful bond that kept the Jews together since the first days of their exile has lost its pristine vigour, and they are slipping slowly and steadily from its grasp and becoming absorbed among the nations around them.



## CHAPTER I

### ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

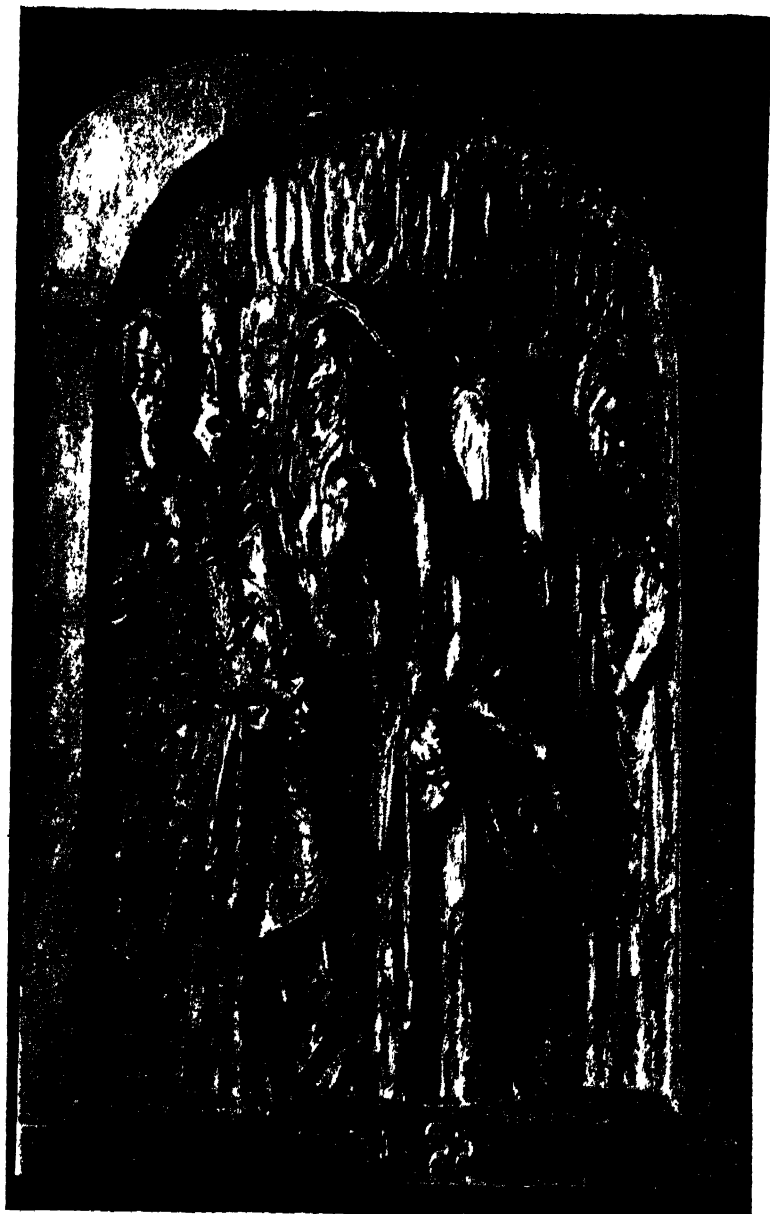
The synagogue the basis of the community—Complementary religious institutions—Religious organization in England, America, and on the Continent—Ecclesiastical administration—The training of the Rabbi—Varieties of synagogue ritual.

ORGANIZATION for religious purposes forms the basic foundation of every Jewish community. However numerous its social and educational institutions may be, however vigorous its economic and political life, every community owes its origin to the desire of its earliest members to meet together for public worship. As soon as there are in a town ten adult males above the age of thirteen—the minimum quorum necessary for congregational service—they assemble in the house of one of their number or in a hired room for common prayer on Sabbaths and festivals. If the spirit of piety in their midst is not strong enough to draw them together every Sabbath they are at least impelled by their racial consciousness to celebrate the festivals with their historic memories and symbolic ceremonies ; but should they be deaf even to the appeal of these hallowed associations they can rarely resist the solemn call of the New Year and the Day of Atonement, which summons the children of Israel in all lands to prayer and penitence. With the lapse of time the little community outgrows its modest meeting-place and must build unto itself a synagogue, a task in which it is usually aided by co-religionists from neighbouring towns and the metropolis ; and the conduct of the service which was formerly read simply by a layman is now entrusted to a professional cantor, the *Chazan*, who intones the prayers according to the traditional melodies with expert ability. The founders of the community are thus the builders of its first synagogue. A further increase of the congregation enables it to appoint a Rabbi in addition to the cantor, and the continued growth of the community, whether by natural accretion or immigration, results in the rise of other synagogues, some of which are founded by groups of fellow-townsmen from another country. Thus, in London, New York,

and other great cities in the West there are numerous houses of prayer, called *Chevroth*, bearing the name of the native place of their founders, such as the "Lodz Chevrah" or "Rumanian Congregation," a phenomenon attesting the local patriotism of the Jew.

The synagogue is the basic religious institution of the community, but it by no means suffices for the variety of its spiritual needs and religious requirements, and hence it must be supplemented by a series of other institutions. First comes the schoolroom, generally situated on the premises of the synagogue itself, in which the children are taught the Hebrew language and the tenets of Judaism. Secondly comes the slaughter-house, in which cattle and poultry that are permitted to be eaten are killed in accordance with Rabbinical law to provide *kosher* meat. Next comes the *Mikvah* or bath for ritual purification, which is far more prevalent in the East than in the West; and then a separate cemetery consecrated to the reception of the dead. In the West, and among those assimilated to Western modes of life, the schoolroom is for the use of the children. But in the East, and among those settled in the West who still preserve the ways of the East, the schoolroom is a *Beth Hamidrash*, a house of study in which adult congregants foregather at night for the study of the Talmud under the guidance of the Rabbi, and in which even during the day pious greybeards meditate over the fathomless wonders of the Torah. In such communities the children receive religious instruction in a private school (*Cheder*) kept by a teacher in his own house, or in a publicly supported institution called a *Talmud Torah* ("Study of the Law"). The provision of *kosher* meat in a populous centre demands several abattoirs, equipped by a large staff of licensed slaughterers, and controlled by a board representing the various synagogues in the town called the Board of *Shechita* ("Slaughtering"). The religious requirements of the community as regards food are not fully satisfied, however, until it also possesses a bakery for the production of bread and cakes, and a dairy for the supply of milk and butter, according to Jewish ritual law. The cemetery is generally under the administration of the council of the synagogue or of a union of synagogues, but it is occasionally controlled by an independent Burial Society; whilst the final rites connected with the interment of the dead are usually discharged by the *Chevrah Kadisha*, a "Holy Brotherhood" whose members are animated by a high sense of religious duty.

The foregoing description of the growth of a congregation



THE EVE OF ATONEMENT DAY

*From the Relief by Henryk Hochman*



applies in essentials to all parts of the world. It reflects the usual course of development in all English-speaking countries, where the State does not interfere with the religious liberty of its subjects, who may establish congregations and build synagogues whenever they please, but it is subject to certain qualifications on the Continent. It is true that the constitution of the London United Synagogue was approved by Act of Parliament, but this measure was desired by the founders of the United Synagogue themselves and was not dictated by the State. It is because of the complete liberty allowed by the civil authority, both national and municipal, that the ecclesiastical system of Jewry in English countries consists mainly of separate congregations, each of which is independent of and unconnected with the other. Apart from the United Synagogue and the Federation of Synagogues in London there is no other ecclesiastical union in British Jewry, but the Chief Rabbi of the United Synagogue is also elected by representatives of other congregations in Great Britain and the British Dominions and is thus recognized as the spiritual head of the majority of the Jews in the British Empire. In the United States, however, every congregation is a law unto itself, though conferences both of the Orthodox and of the Reform Rabbis are held periodically to discuss religious questions and decide upon common action.

On the Continent the tutelage exercised by the Government over its Jewish community in the Middle Ages has been preserved for the most part to the present day, though in Western Europe it has assumed a constitutional form, free from any despotic or humiliating feature. In Germany, Austria, Poland, and most of the other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, every Jew must be a member of the religious community in his town and contribute the tax imposed upon him (an obligation that is enforced, if necessary, by the civil authority), and only those are exempted from this duty who take the extreme step of formally renouncing their Judaism by declaring themselves *confessionslos* ("religionless"). The formation of congregations and their approval by the local or central Government is compulsory in these countries, but there is no uniformity in them as regards the exact measure of control exercised by the civil authority. In Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, and Mecklenburg, the congregations are administered by a central board directly responsible to the Government, which sanctions the election of Rabbis; but in Prussia there is no central board, and each community can create its own ecclesiastical organiza-

tion, though under the general supervision of the State. In Austria and Hungary there is likewise local autonomy, the latter country having three distinct unions of congregations—Orthodox, Reform (*Neologen*), and the intermediate, curiously styled "*status quo*." In France, since the Act of Separation, the ecclesiastical organization of the Jews is free from Government control, but the system of consistories originated by Napoleon I, with a central council in Paris, is still maintained, a system that likewise prevails in Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. In Poland an ordinance issued by the President of the Republic in 1927 prescribed a new system of organization for all communities (except those in the provinces of Posen, Pomerania, and Silesia), combining them into a Jewish Religious Association, which is endowed with the rights of a public corporation and placed under the administration of a Supreme Council, on which the Government can nominate members. The Jews of Bulgaria, at a Congress held in 1920, adopted a constitution on the basis of the minorities' rights, which proclaimed the religious and national unity of all the Jews in the country and invested the communities with the right of taxation, but this constitution, although in operation, has not yet received the approval of the Government.

In Russia and Turkey there are marked changes since the War. In Russia, before the Bolshevik Revolution, every Jew had to belong to some congregation, whilst new congregations could be formed only with the permission of the Government; to-day, however, Jewish religious communities are purely private bodies, without any powers, and constantly exposed to the vindictive hostility of the anti-religious bureaucracy. In Turkey the Jews formerly had an elaborate system of communal organization, governed by a national council, a temporal council, and a spiritual council, whilst the Chief Rabbi was endowed by the Government with high powers of authority over the spiritual affairs of Ottoman Jewry; but to-day, owing to the surrender of their minorities' rights, and also owing to the separation of Church and State, the Jews possess but a feeble organization. On the other hand, a considerable improvement has been effected in Palestine, where, by virtue of the Religious Communities Ordinance, the Jews are constituted into a single community under the dual control of an Elective Assembly, which appoints a National Council and imposes taxation for educational and charitable purposes, and of the Rabbinical Council, which consists of two chief Rabbis (a Sephardi and an Ashkenazi) and six lay members.

It will thus be seen that there is no central religious authority in Israel, no single ecclesiastical dignitary who exercises a universal overlordship. Each country is independent of the other ; for the most part each local congregation is independent of the others in the same country ; and even each synagogue is independent of others in the same town. But what binds the great majority of congregations together and supplies an element of uniformity is the accepted authority of traditional law as embodied in the Talmud and codified in Joseph Caro's *Shulchan Aruch* (" Table Prepared "). It is in conformity with these codes that most of the Chief Rabbis, be their diocese an Empire, a country, or merely a congregation, conduct their administration, though personal proclivities and local circumstances produce a certain variety of attitude to laws that are not of fundamental importance. The Chief Rabbi usually performs his ecclesiastical functions through the medium of a court, the *Beth Din* (" Court of Judgment "), in which he is assisted by two or more Rabbis, and he bears the title of *Rosh Beth Din* (" Head of the Court of Judgment "). This Court, the modern counterpart of the ancient Sanhedrin, decides all questions pertaining to the religious domain. It issues marriage certificates and bills of divorce ; it deals with cases of proselytism ; it examines and licenses slaughterers, who must produce their knives for searching inspection, and it also licenses butchers ; it takes systematic measures to ensure the ritual fitness of all food offered for Jewish consumption, not only meat, but also bread, milk, butter, and cheese ; it supervises the baking of unleavened bread for Passover ; and it solves numberless problems relating to ritual observances and ceremonies that arise in the daily life of the community. Its authority is seldom disputed, and it is noteworthy that in the few cases, for instance, in which the authority of the Chief Rabbi in England has been disputed by provincial butchers in regard to pronouncements on the *kashrus* or ritual fitness of meat offered for sale, it has been upheld by the civil court. The jurisdiction of the *Beth Din* usually comprises only questions of religious law, but civil disputes are also often voluntarily submitted to its decision, and cases in which both parties are Jews are also occasionally referred to it by civil judges.

The aspirant to the Rabbinate must undergo a long course of training in a theological seminary before he is qualified to receive the title of Rabbi. The instruction in the few seminaries (*Yeshiboth*) in Poland and Lithuania is modelled largely on the

system observed throughout the Middle Ages and is almost wholly confined to Hebrew lore ; and after the student has passed a searching examination in the Talmud and the ritual codes by his teacher or another Rabbi he is given the diploma of *Hattarat Horaah* (" permission to teach and decide "), which attests his ability to discharge Rabbinical functions. The diploma confers no sacred power and is not a priestly licence : it may be acquired by any layman who is sufficiently learned in Rabbinical lore, and its holder derives the authority to act as Rabbi from the congregation that appoints him. During the nineteenth century modern Rabbinical seminaries were established in Western Europe and America,<sup>1</sup> at which stress is laid upon the acquisition of an advanced secular education in addition to the knowledge necessary for the Rabbinical office, and hence the modern Rabbi generally possesses a university degree. He is further distinguished from his colleagues in Eastern countries and from most of the Rabbis ministering to foreign congregations in the West by a more practical conception of his office. The Rabbi of the Eastern type delivers sermons only occasionally, which are profound expositions of Talmudical texts ; he answers all questions relating to religious customs and ritual practice ; but he makes little or no attempt to take account of the influence of modern conditions upon Judaism. The Western Rabbi preaches sermons regularly in the vernacular, in which he deals with problems of the day and tries to reconcile Jewish tradition with modern thought ; he supervises the religious education of the young ; he calls on his congregants ; he visits the sick and helps the poor ; and he is regarded and accepted in the outer world as the representative of his community. The professional assimilation of the modern Rabbi to the Christian minister has in England gone to the extent of his adopting the ordinary clerical garb and the title of " Reverend."<sup>2</sup> But in the purely ecclesiastical sphere he enjoys less authority than his Eastern colleague : the latter is the undisputed leader of his community, the arbiter in all questions of religious observance, whereas the modern Rabbi is often the mere instrument of his con-

<sup>1</sup> The most important seminaries, in the order of their foundation, are those of Breslau (1854), London (1856), Berlin (the moderately conservative *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in 1872, and the strictly orthodox *Rabbiner Seminar* in 1873), Cincinnati (1874), Budapest (1877), New York (1886), and Vienna (1893). A new Yeshiva College (Orthodox) was built in New York in 1928 at a cost of £500,000.

<sup>2</sup> The late Chief Rabbi of England, Dr. Herman Adler, once conferred the title of " Reverend " upon a schoolmaster, an act which aroused considerable criticism as being utterly foreign to Jewish tradition.



gregation, whose will is sovereign in all proposed changes of the ritual or liturgy.

The centuries of dispersion and myriadfold dismemberment of Jewry have naturally produced divergences of synagogue ritual that are quite unconnected with differences of doctrine. There are two main systems which are grouped around the ritual of the Ashkenazim, or Jews of Germany (Heb. *Ashkenaz*), and around that of the Sephardim, or Jews of Spain (Heb. *Sephard*). The Ashkenazic liturgy, which is by far the most extensively used, has undergone minor variations in Russia and Poland as well as in England and America ; whilst the Sephardic ritual, which differs in the sequence of certain prayers and the text of others and shows a preference for the compositions of writers of Spanish origin, is exclusively employed by the descendants of the exiled Jews of Spain and Portugal, who migrated mostly to Turkey and the other lands washed by the Mediterranean, as well as, in smaller groups, to England and Holland, and even to various parts of North and South America. The Sephardic ritual has also undergone certain variations, the principal being the Castilian, the Aragonian, the Catalanian, and the Provençal, whilst further variations are found among the Jews of Arabia and Morocco. The Sephardim, moreover, who probably do not number more than half a million in all, differ from the Ashkenazim in their pronunciation of Hebrew and attach less importance to an elaborately musical service. They have their own synagogues and their own independent Rabbis, but in all the essentials of faith and observance they acknowledge the same traditional authority as the majority of Jewry.

## CHAPTER II

### FAITH AND OBSERVANCE

Paucity of sectarian differences—Rise of Reform Judaism—Evolution of the ritual code—Creed and prayer—The worship of the synagogue—The *Chassidim*—Orthodoxy in Western Jewry—Characteristics of Reform Judaism and Liberal Judaism and their effects—Causes of the religious decline.

DESPITE its long history and world-wide dispersion Jewry presents a higher degree of religious unity than either of the two great religions that have sprung from its loins. The comparative paucity of sectarian differences is all the more remarkable in view of the local religious autonomy that has been enjoyed by Jewish communities since the decay of the Talmudical academies in Babylon and the cessation of the Principedom of the Captivity in the year 1040. The few sects that have arisen in the history of Israel since the downfall of its national independence were banned as sowers of heresy, and were doomed to stagnation or extinction. The Karaites who arose in the eighth century as rebels against the authority of the Rabbinic traditions and, inspired by an ascetic view of life, founded a new religious system on the letter of the Scriptures alone, number to-day only some 12,000 souls, concentrated mostly in Southern Russia and Vilna, with a few small communities in Turkey and Egypt. The pseudo-Messianic sects that arose in the eighteenth century under the influence of Sabbatai Zevi and his adventurous imitators, moved rather by mental unrest than by dogmatic dissent, left no trace upon the surface of Judaism itself. The sect of the Donmeh (Turkish, "apostates") formed in Salonica by Sabbatai's nephew, Berechiah Querido, and transplanted (since Salonica was recovered by Greece) to Constantinople and Smyrna, is practically a community of Moslems; whilst the Frankists in Poland, who went over to Christianity, have completely died out. The only sect of the eighteenth century that has remained within the fold of Israel is that of the Chassidim, founded by Israel ben Eliezer, of Miedzyboz, in Podolia, who was famed as a worker of miracles through the name of

God and known as the *Baal Shem Tob* ("Master of the Good Name"). But the *Chassidim* do not differ from the rest of Orthodox Jewry on any point of dogma; they differ simply in their conception of the religious life. They regard fervour of faith as its highest essential and as superior to profundity of Talmudical learning, and although they have their own houses of prayer and their own ritual, they fully accept and acknowledge the authority of the Oral Law.

It was not until the earlier half of the nineteenth century, when the Jews of Western Europe had already begun to enjoy the firstfruits of civil emancipation and had come under the influence of modern culture, that the first schism in the domain of dogma took place. This schismatic movement, known as Reform Judaism, was the development of a tendency that had already begun at the close of the eighteenth century in Germany for the improvement of the synagogue service, and which was mainly confined to the excision of obsolete prayers (such as the prayer for the heads of the extinct Babylonian academies) and the curtailment of festival hymns written in obscure phraseology. It followed up these external changes, which were designed merely to produce a decorous service, with a change in the doctrines and practices of Judaism that was designed to harmonize the ancient religion with the modern outlook of some of its followers. It rejected the authority of the Oral Law, it introduced an organ and a mixed choir into the synagogue, it expunged from the prayer-book all references to the coming of a Messiah and the restoration of Zion, and it abolished the second days of the festivals as an anachronism dating from the Talmudic age, when the exact incidence of the festivals could not be fixed as in these days of science. The crucial principle that separated the Reformers from Orthodox Jewry was their conception of the destiny of Israel. Ever since the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus the Jews had looked upon their dispersion as a punishment for their sins and fervently prayed for their restoration to the Holy Land. The Reformers declared that the dispersion was not a punishment but a divinely appointed means for spreading the teachings of Judaism throughout the world, and hence they ceased to pray for a personal Messiah and for the return of Israel to his ancestral land. These revolutionary doctrines were first proclaimed in Germany and found only limited acceptance, but upon their being transplanted to the United States they found a more friendly atmosphere and developed to radical extremes, producing an ever-widening breach from the traditions of Orthodox

Judaism. But let us first examine the principles of Orthodox Judaism, and we shall then be in a better position to appreciate the significance of Reform Judaism. We must only premise that neither of these designations correctly denotes certain shades of conformity that lie between strict Orthodoxy and advanced Reform, for there is a scale of degrees of observance—or non-observance—that leads from the one extreme to the other.

The faith and practice of the orthodox Jew are based upon a dual Law, the Written Law consisting of the Torah or Bible, and the Oral Law consisting of the Talmud. He believes that in addition to the Written Law given on Mount Sinai an interpretation of its difficulties was simultaneously revealed to Moses, and that this interpretation, handed down through an unbroken chain of authorities, from Moses to Joshua, from Joshua to the Elders, from the Elders to the Prophets, and from the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, was carefully transmitted to the Rabbis who flourished after the fall of the Temple and who expounded it in orderly and systematic form in the six "orders" or sections of the Mishna. This Mishna, which means "Repetition" or that which is learnt by heart, was the result of a compiling and editorial activity that was carried on for more than two centuries and which was completed about the year 200 C.E. It was a compendium of law relating to all aspects of life and all branches of religious observance, which was designed, in the Rabbinic phrase, to form "a fence" about the Torah, and thus reduce the probability of transgression. But the Mishna, which was based upon the Scripture and which merely set forth the traditional law with little argumentation, was subjected to further discussion and examination in the academies of Babylon and Palestine for three centuries, and the resultant record of the emendation and expansion of the disputations and decisions received the name of *Gemara* or "completion." The Mishna and the *Gemara*, text and commentary, together constitute the Talmud, which, in its Babylonian recension, has exercised its sway over Jewry throughout the centuries of the dispersion. The Talmud is primarily a detailed exposition of traditional law, accompanied by the argumentative preamble and casuistic discussion that preceded each decision, but it is also a vast treasure-house of ancient lore, replete with parables and maxims, anecdotes and folk-lore, allegories and exhortations, which throw a flood of light upon the life, faith, and customs of the Jews in the early period of their exile. The Talmud

was thus too monumental and labyrinthine a work to be convenient for ready reference on the countless questions of ritual that arise in the daily life of the observant Jew, and hence it was reduced by Moses Maimonides, in the twelfth century, to a code of more manageable proportions, the *Mishneh Torah* ("Copy of the Law"), divided into fourteen books. Even this work was regarded by later generations as too unwieldy, so it was reduced in turn, a century and a half later, by Rabbi Jacob ben Asher, to a new code entitled *Arbaah Turim* (Four Rows). But this code, too, was reduced still further in the sixteenth century by Rabbi Joseph Caro into a handy digest, which he entitled *Shulchan Aruch* ("The Prepared Table"). This work, systematically arranged into books, sections, chapters, and paragraphs, became the standard code of Jewish law and life; but even its publication did not put an end to the exposition of traditional law, for as it was the product of a Sephardic Jew annotations were added by Rabbi Moses Isserles embodying the customs of Polish and German communities, and it received further accretions in the form of notes and commentaries dealing with questions that had arisen through changed conditions of life. The *Shulchan Aruch* thus forms the final repository of law, and only they who scrupulously conform to its regulations are deemed to be orthodox Jews in the strictest sense. It expounds the duties of the Jew to man and his Maker; it governs his acts in all the relations of life, private and public, domestic and social, from the cradle to the grave; it enacts in minute detail how he should dress and how he should walk, what he should eat and what he should drink, how he should kill the animals fit for his consumption, and prepare their flesh for food; how he should pray and how he should study, how he should keep the Sabbath and celebrate the feasts and fasts, how he should bake the unleavened bread for Passover and build the booths for Tabernacles; what his duties are to his wife and his children, to his parents and his teachers, to his neighbours and the community, to the orphan, the sick, the poor, to the living and to the dead.

So elaborate and all-embracing is this compendium of ritual law, covering every conceivable act in human life, that it might seem to leave no room for spiritual religion, and yet the articles of faith formulated by Maimonides and the pages of the prayer-book bear abundant evidence to the sublimity of faith of the orthodox Jew. He believes in the unity, the eternity, and the incorporeality of the Creator, who is the cause of all things and is alone to be worshipped. He believes in

the words of the prophets, of whom Moses is the greatest, and in the divine origin of the Torah which is unchangeable. He believes that God knows the deeds and thoughts of man and rewards those who observe His commandments and punishes those who transgress them ; and he believes in the coming of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead. But he attaches less importance to creeds than to deeds. He lives and acts not according to a catechism of faith, but according to a code of laws and customs, which enshrine for him a religious truth, an ethical ideal, or a historic experience. He shuns all food and drink forbidden by the dietary laws, avoids all restaurants but those that are *kosher*, and is shocked on seeing a fellow-Jew eat a piece of forbidden meat. He has special benedictions for all occasions : when it thunders or lightens, when he sees a rainbow or the new moon, when he undertakes a sea voyage or has escaped a serious danger, when he beholds a distinguished sage or is in the presence of a monarch, when he hears good tidings or is informed of a death. He offers up three principal prayers a day in Hebrew, not brief supplications, but a complete service of prayers and psalms, which occupies at least half an hour in the morning and half as long in the afternoon and the evening. He extols the greatness of God, thanks Him for His manifold mercies, entreats His guidance and protection throughout life, prays that all nations shall bow down to Him, and that the scattered children of Israel may be gathered together from the four corners of the earth and be reunited in Zion. At his morning devotions he wears a *tallis* or praying-shawl, with fringes at the four corners, and on all days but Sabbaths and festivals he also dons his *tephillin* (phylacteries) ; even on his travels he takes these accessories with him, and whether on an Atlantic liner or in a Continental express he never fails to don his *tephillin* in the morning, contenting himself for the nonce with the small fringed garment (*Arba' Kanfos*, Heb., " four corners ") on his body instead of the more ample and attractive *tallis*, and steeled by his faith against the amused gaze of the Gentile or of his own lax brethren. The rationalist may shake his head at this periodic and punctual outpouring of prayer, but he must indeed be numb to all sense of the sublime who is not impressed by the sight of a poor pedlar, who, after trudging the whole day long with a heavy pack in search of a pittance, suddenly sees that the sun will set before he can reach home, and so hastens to some deserted lane or field, where he places his burden on the ground, turns his face towards the East, and devoutly begins the afternoon prayer:

*"Happy are they that dwell in Thy house; they will be ever praising Thee. Selah"* (Ps. lxxxiv. 4).

The orthodox Jew is a devotee of the synagogue. If he cannot attend every morning, by reason of his work or business, he makes an effort to be present at least on Mondays and Thursdays, when a portion of the Torah is read, and likewise every evening, when the service is followed by the study of the Talmud under the lead of the Rabbi. His synagogue may be simple and even sombre in architecture, the light being obscured by tall buildings around it, but he is attracted to it as naturally as the earth to the sun. Nothing but illness can excuse his absence on the Sabbath, when he attends with his sons on Friday evening and also with his wife and daughters on Saturday morning, though the latter must sit in a gallery, where they are often concealed from the male worshippers below by a closely patterned grille or a curtain. He drinks in with delight the florid melodies of the *Chazan*, and is even prepared to conduct the service himself in the cantor's absence, whilst he accounts it a special merit to be called up to the reading of the Law and a higher merit still to be summoned to cantillate the portion from the Prophets. His praying is marked by fervour and exuberance: he sways his body in literal interpretation of the Psalmist's words, "All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto thee!"<sup>1</sup> His responses are emphatic and resonant, and he sings the Sabbath hymns with glee. On the Fast of Ab he mourns the destruction of Jerusalem with saddened spirit, sitting bootless on a low stool, listening to the reading of the Lamentations by the cantor, and then intoning himself in turn one of the cycle of dirges on Zion; and on the Feast of Purim he celebrates the discomfiture of Haman and his plots by punctuating the recitation of the Book of Esther with the whirl of a rattle or the stamp of feet whenever the name of that arch-fiend is mentioned. The Day of Atonement sees him wrapped in a white robe, symbolical of his cerements, pouring forth a flood of prayer that God may forgive him for sins committed and uncommitted, beating his breast at the name of every fresh iniquity, and bedewing the prayer-book with tears; but on the festival of Tabernacles he takes a citron in one hand and a palm-branch, bound with myrtle and willow, in the other, and shakes them to the melodious accompaniment of psalms, whilst on the feast of the Rejoicing of the Law he proudly bears a scroll on one of the seven circuits

<sup>1</sup> Psalm xxxv. 10.

round the *Almemar* (the cantor's platform), followed by his juvenile sons carrying paper flags adorned with the figures of Moses and Aaron or a design of the Ten Commandments, and singing the hosannas right merrily, after which he and all his fellow-worshippers indulge in feasting and drinking, and pass from spiritual elation to spirituous exaltation. For religion to him is life, and like life it finds expression in a sequence of changing emotions. Moreover, he takes every precaution that his children shall follow in his footsteps: he sends them to a *Cheder* or *Talmud Torah*, which they attend daily, and where they are taught the translation of the prayer-book and of the Bible and its commentaries, where they are trained to cantillate the Pentateuch and the lessons from the Prophets, and are initiated into the laws of the *Shulchan Aruch*. He feels then assured that when he passes away his sons will honour his memory by reciting in the synagogue for eleven months after his death the prayer known as the *Kaddish*.

Such is the religious observance of the strictly orthodox Jew in Eastern Europe, as well as in many congregations of the West that are made up of natives of the East. In order to promote the spread of strict Orthodoxy and foster its interests there was formed in 1912 an inter-territorial organization called "Agudath Israel" (Union of Israel), which has a large following in Central and Eastern Europe, and a smaller one in England and America, though it does not comprise any but a minority of Orthodox Jewry. The "Agudath Israel," whose headquarters are at Frankfort, has not confined its activities to religious matters but extended them to the political domain, by running its own candidates in municipal and political elections in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and other countries, and also by making separate representations (in opposition to those of the Zionist Organization) to the League of Nations in regard to Jewish affairs in Palestine.

The section of the Orthodox among whom emotion plays a great part are the *Chassidim*, mostly found in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, for they believe that by violent excitation of the body they can enter into direct communion with God and influence Him, and hence in their prayer-houses they work themselves up into an ecstasy by shouting, singing, and vigorous gesticulation. They revere their leader, whom they call a *Zaddik* (saint), as one who has attained the most intimate communion with God and can mediate on their behalf. They believe that he can heal them of bodily ills, that he can cure any sterility of their wives, and predict the



issue of their private undertakings, and hence they seek his advice on all important occasions, though they must pay for it with a fee (*pidyon*), which forms for him a fruitful source of revenue. They attach a mystic power to all his sayings and doings, and even fight for a crumb that falls from his hand when they have the honour of being present at his Sabbath table. The dignity of the *Zaddik* has been made hereditary, and is borne by different dynasties in Poland and Rumania, each of which has many thousands of adherents; but the glory of Chassidism, which has been sorely shaken by the War, is bound to depart with the continuous emigration of the faithful.<sup>1</sup>

The orthodoxy of the Western Jews differs in many respects from that of their Eastern brethren. Theoretically they also acknowledge the authority of the Oral Law, but in practice they mostly ignore it. They do not receive, nor do they let their children receive, a thorough grounding in Hebrew and the tenets of Judaism, which requires several hours a week, nor even instruction in Jewish history, owing to the more insistent claims of secular education, and as they are unfamiliar with the language of the synagogue they are not attracted to public worship. Their synagogues are more handsome and imposing than any that can be found among the congregations of Eastern pietists, and various concessions have been made to the spirit of modernity. The cantor is assisted by a choir of male and female voices; in some orthodox shrines there is even an organ, which is forbidden by the *Shulchan Aruch*; the university-educated Rabbi delivers a polished sermon every Sabbath morning; and there are occasional prayers in the vernacular. But despite these attractions half of the congregation do not come to the Sabbath service, for they are in their shops and offices, their warehouses and factories. Living in an economic world which does not hallow the seventh but the first day, they pursue their usual work on the day sacred to their fathers. Competition grows keener, the fight for existence more bitter; and as their faith has sunk to a low ebb they are unwilling or unable to make any sacrifice. Even those who need not work on the Sabbath, such as the rich, or teachers in Jewish schools, or authors and artists, are likewise mostly absent from the house of worship, for, having received a modern education, they are impregnated with the scepticism

<sup>1</sup> The principal dynasties are those connected with the townlets of Sadagora, Belz, Gora Kalvarya, Komarno, Munkacz, and Tolna. Many Chassidic Rabbis have now settled in Vienna.

and indifference of the age, whilst those who do attend display little fervour, and although they pray for the coming of the Messiah and the return to Zion, they do not believe in these hopes, or cannot understand the prayers they utter. And that those who shun the synagogue do not engage in private prayer or observe the exacting prescriptions of the dietary laws, goes without saying. Some are still attracted by the historic appeal of the festival of freedom, the Passover, though its ritual observance is often difficult for those isolated in a Gentile environment; but it is only the New Year and the Day of Atonement, the first and last of the Ten Days of Penitence, that can throw a spell over those who are lax the whole year round. Then even all the synagogues crowded to their utmost cannot receive the hosts of penitents, and halls and schoolrooms galore must be requisitioned for the countless temporary congregations that rise into being. But even the dread solemnity of the Fast of Atonement has lost its thrill for a great and growing number of the children of Israel, who are being slowly absorbed by their environment. This decay of religious feeling has reached the farthest extreme in countries in which Jews enjoy to the full the blessings of liberty and education, and where there is a relatively small admixture of the immigrant element, such as Italy<sup>1</sup> and France; but religious indifference is spreading like an epidemic over Central Europe, England, and America.

This indifference is just as rampant among the adherents of Reform Judaism, despite all the measures that have been taken for making it easy to observe. The authority of the Talmud and the *Shulchan Aruch* has been abrogated, the infallibility of the Torah has been overthrown, and the laws of Moses are read in the light of the Higher Criticism and subordinated to the ethical teaching of the Prophets. The Reform Synagogue, especially as it has developed in the United States, knows no authority except itself, but it has not won the allegiance of the masses who find the *Shulchan Aruch* a yoke. It attaches more importance to creeds than to deeds, but it has revised the old creeds and formulated new ones,

<sup>1</sup> In an interesting article on the Jews in Italy (*Ost und West*, September, 1912) Professor Loevinson, of Rome, enumerated a number of communities where religious indifference was so widespread that more than half were absent from the services on the New Year and the Day of Atonement. In Bologna, of 1600 Jews only 200 attended the synagogue on these solemn festivals. An inquiry conducted among 1850 Jewish communities in Germany in 1904 showed that the daily synagogue service was held in only 487 communities, whilst 1147 communities held divine service only on the Sabbath and 216 only on the high festivals (*Zeitschrift f. Demog. u. Stat. der Juden*, 1905, No. 9, p. 3).



THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES  
*From the Painting by Leopold Pilichowski*



without being able to record any revival of spirituality as a result. It proclaims that Israel is not in exile and undergoing punishment for past transgression, but that he has been dispersed to discharge a mission, to spread the principles of truth and justice and be a model of righteousness unto all the nations of the earth : a doctrine that stands in ironic contrast to the situation in parts of Eastern Europe, where the Jews have been settled nearly two thousand years and shown greater fidelity than all their brethren to the teachings of their faith, but have not made the least impression upon the moral perversity of their rulers. The Reform movement has abolished the second days of festival and disregards the dietary laws. It has emasculated Judaism of its national character and composed a new liturgy, which is free from references to a personal Messiah, the return to Zion, and the restoration of sacrifices. It has made the vernacular supersede Hebrew as the principal language of prayer ; it has introduced an organ and mixed choir as regular accompaniments of public worship ; it has abolished the *tallis* and *tephillin* for ordinary morning prayer and the *kittel* (white robe) on the Day of Atonement ; it allows divine worship to be conducted with uncovered head, and in certain " temples " it has abandoned the women's gallery in favour of family pews. So Occidentalized has the Reform temple become that a visitor at first sight could hardly distinguish whether he was in a synagogue or a chapel, and yet with all its concessions to the modern spirit, and although it forms the busy centre of much social and philanthropic activity, it fails to attract an adequate congregation on the Sabbath morning. Hence many temples have introduced supplementary services on the Sunday morning, at which a lecture is given, whilst the Sinai Congregation in Chicago holds services only on Sunday. On the other hand, the so-called Reform synagogues in England hardly differ in many respects from certain Conservative houses of prayer on the Continent, the Liberal Synagogue founded by Mr. Claude Montefiore alone approximating in form and spirit to the temples of America. There is, indeed, a curious discrepancy as between England and America, on the one hand, and the European Continent on the other, in their usage of the terms Reform and Liberal Judaism, for whilst in the English-speaking countries Reform represents the right and Liberal Judaism the left wing, on the Continent the position is exactly reversed, Liberal Judaism occupying an intermediate place between Conservative and Reform Judaism. Both Liberalism and Reform, however, have combined

in a World Union for Progressive Judaism, whose aim, as expressed by one of its leaders, is to enable Judaism not merely to dwell in the modern world but to live in it.<sup>1</sup>

That the Reform movement has failed to arrest the decay of religion in Jewry is a fact that will readily be admitted even by its leaders. It may be urged that it has simply given its sanction to what is actually the faith and observance of myriads of Jews in the orthodox camp, but in legalizing a series of departures from the traditional law it has given an impetus to further deflections, for in no congregation does the average member aspire to the ideal of a maximum of conformity. Orthodoxy, despite the difficulty of observing its countless array of laws and precepts, will continue to exercise a hold over the imagination of the Jew through its rich ceremonialism and symbolic ritual; whereas Reform, by abolishing many historic customs and minimizing the importance of others, by cutting Judaism adrift from the land of its birth and denuding it of its national features, weakens the bond of racial consciousness, effaces the line of separation from other faiths, and facilitates the drift of its members from the Jewish pale either to the Christian Church, or to the less-exacting cults of Theism, Monism, or Ethical Culture, or, finally, to free-thought. But there is no absolute uniformity in Reform, for many of its Rabbis are staunch supporters of the Zionist movement, and even Liberal Judaism has been constrained to declare that it has no definite view on Zionism and that its followers are free to adopt whatever attitude they wish.

Thus, religious observance is now on the decline throughout the greater part of Jewry. The decadence of religious feeling that characterizes the world in general has infected the communities of Israel that are everywhere a minority in the lands of their dispersion. Intellectual, social, and economic causes have all combined to undermine the age-old faith of the Jew and to sweep away the rites and customs that had been cherished so dearly through centuries of martyrdom. Now that the Jew could observe his religion in peace, it has ceased to appeal to him. The acquisition of higher education, the results of the Higher Criticism, the teaching of science, the increasing intercourse with the Christian population, and the exacting demands of the economic struggle, all conspire to weaken his attachment to the traditions of his fathers. Not deliberately, not wilfully does he depart from the

<sup>1</sup> Rabbi Dr. Leo Baeck at the Berlin Conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, August 18-20, 1928.

standard of piety in the Ghetto, but driven inexorably and inevitably, often against his will, and sometimes with a secret pang. Even those endowed with a thorough religious education, with an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew language and of Jewish history, have become estranged from the synagogue : how much more then those who grope about in ignorance ? The Western communities have not yet solved the task of providing adequate religious instruction for the rapidly growing population. In the United States, for instance, out of 800,000 Jewish children of school age, only 30 per cent are receiving a religious education.<sup>1</sup> This is partly the fault of the communal authorities, but it is in no small measure the result of the attitude of the parents themselves. Nothing but parental indifference can explain the fact that so small a percentage of the Jewish youths attending the public schools in England are members of " Jewish houses," and that so large a number " attend chapel and take the obligatory New Testament instruction."<sup>2</sup>

This picture of the early estrangement of Jews from their faith can be paralleled in many other large centres in Europe and America. The Jewish child thus becomes more familiar with Christmas than with Chanukah, the festival of the Maccabees that often synchronizes with it, and parents frequently go to the length of introducing the Christmas tree into the home, with all the conventional customs attaching to it. The Christmas tree is defended by those who adopt it as being free from any positive religious import, but it undeniably signifies a negative attitude to Jewish tradition : it is a symbol of estrangement from the ancient faith. Thus, slowly and subtly, the bonds of Judaism are being dissolved throughout the Western lands, a process that is but feebly checked by the meagre influx of pious immigrants from the East, for these too, intoxicated by the spirit of liberty and absorbed in the battle of life, are likewise seduced from the path of their forefathers, whilst their children, especially in England and America, are even more rapidly assimilated to the predominant national type.

<sup>1</sup> Report of National Council of Jewish Education, 1927, quoted in the *American Jewish Year Book* for 5689 (1928-29), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Affirmations of Judaism*, by Chief Rabbi Dr. J. H. Hertz, p. 93.

## CHAPTER III

### DRIFT AND APOSTASY

The principal causes of desertion—Early apostasy in England, Prussia, and Russia—Missionary agencies—Statistics of baptisms—Fluctuations in the history of conversion—Recent defections in Austria, Hungary, and Germany—Apostasy in Russia—Increase of intermarriage—Its prevalence in Austria and Hungary—Intermarriages in Germany and Denmark; in England, America, and Australia—The children of mixed marriages.

THE drift from Judaism that is now going on throughout the world is one of the most disquieting features of Jewish life. A certain amount of desertion has from the very beginning always attended the dispersion, but until the end of the eighteenth century it was comparatively small in extent and limited in locality. It was the toll that had to be paid by Jewry to Christendom for existing in its midst, and it was exacted by State and Church alike. The principle of the mediæval State was that all its subjects should worship in the State Church, and the method of forcible persuasion that was adopted towards all dissenters was applied with the severest rigour towards the Jews, who were forced to listen to Christian sermons and to public disputations on the Torah and the Talmud. The Crusades and the Inquisition were the two most successful—because most violent—instruments of conversion, though the formal acceptance of Christianity did not prevent the Jews in Spain, and even in other countries, from adhering to their religion and observing its rites in secret. The hypocrisy thus engendered by the mediæval State was the chief weapon for defeating the intolerance which it practised. But so stubbornly did the Jewish people cling to their faith that all the devices of persecution—social degradation, economic boycott, ruinous fines, imprisonment, torture, exile—failed to “save” aught but a relatively small number of souls.

In modern times, however, the desertion of Judaism has been mostly voluntary in character and far more extensive in its incidence. Not that the Jews recognize any religious superiority on the part of Christianity. Their desertion partakes of two forms: either they leave the Synagogue because they have little sympathy with it, without joining the Church,



for which they have even less sympathy ; or they join the Church because it relieves them of social and political disabilities. Those who surrender the faith of their forefathers without adopting any other in its place are mostly to be found in the lands of freedom, in Western Europe and America, though cases of Jewish baptism in those regions are also very plentiful ; but in the lands of intolerance, in Central and Eastern Europe, the normal feature of religious desertion is secession to Christianity. In the countries where complete political equality prevails, without any religious discrimination, such as England, France, and America, there is no extraneous motive to join the Church, and the majority of the Jews who drift through its doors enter it to contract a wealthy marriage. But in Austria and Poland, where the profession of Judaism is still a disqualification for public office, as well as in Hungary and Rumania, where the Jews are degraded to the level of second-class citizens or pariahs, those who secede to the Church do so to ensure their worldly advancement. Instances of conversion for conscience' sake may perhaps occur, for even Jewry has its mystics ; but they are difficult to prove, as the acceptance of baptism is invariably accompanied by a material advantage. Hence the motives that actuate the great bulk of apostates—the deliverance from civil disabilities or the furtherance of their career—are substantially the same to-day as those that prevailed in the Middle Ages. The main difference is that formerly they were impressed upon the Jew by means of the sword or the stake : now they operate automatically. Another difference is that formerly the only acceptable conversion in all countries was that which bore the Jew into the established Church. This principle used to prevail in Tsarist Russia, where only those who espoused the Orthodox Greek faith were looked upon with favour ; but in Poland or Rumania the Government does not trouble itself whether the Jewish renegade seeks covert under the Protestant or the Catholic wing of the Church, so long as he acknowledges Christianity, which in practice is ignored by Christendom itself.

The first notable tendency towards apostasy in modern times manifested itself under the immediate influence of the social and intellectual emancipation which the Jews of Western Europe began to enjoy towards the close of the eighteenth century. The acquisition of secular learning and increasing intercourse with their Christian neighbours made a number of Jews of the wealthier class lose sympathy with the Syna-

gogue, whose forms and ceremonies they began to regard with a critical eye. Behind the walls of the Ghetto they had observed all the rites of their faith with undisturbed tranquillity of soul, and were even strengthened in their devotion by the hostility of the outside world. But the freedom that gradually dawned upon them lured them away from the communal fold and enkindled in them the ambition to shine in the larger world around them. The sun of liberty dissolved the ties of faith much more readily than the fires of the Inquisition. The first general defection took place in England, where, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a number of prominent Jewish families of the Sephardic community, actuated more by social ambition than by theological scruples, transferred their allegiance to the Church. They included such names as Bernal, Furtado, Lopez, Ximenes, and Uzzielli, to which, a little later, those of Ricardo and Disraeli were added—all families that were soon merged into the British aristocracy. But a far more serious outbreak of apostasy was that which occurred in Prussia. There the movement was all the more striking as it developed under the immediate influence of the teaching of Moses Mendelssohn, who had sought to confer upon his fellow-Jews the blessings of secular culture while preaching to them steadfastness of faith. His generation accepted the blessings of culture, but their faith was shattered, and his own children were among the first who headed the march to the baptismal font. Dissatisfaction with the ritual of the Synagogue and with the multifold ceremonies in the home was only a subsidiary motive in their desertion: the prime motive was worldly ambition. Hence it is that the epidemic of apostasy attacked only the wealthier and more intellectual Jews, those who had something to gain by joining the Church, a Government appointment or access to aristocratic circles. Thirty years after the death of Moses Mendelssohn, Rahel Levin wrote to her brother that half of the Berlin community was baptised. This statement was numerically inaccurate, as of the 3610 Jews who lived in Berlin in 1819 only 1236 became Christians within the next four years, but the proportion was grave enough to justify the slight exaggeration. From 1822 to 1840 there was an average of 122 Jewish converts a year, and they included nearly every Jew who attained any fame in Prussia in that period. Scholars who wished to advance in their career without sacrificing their conscience found themselves forced into exile, and thus Munk, Dernburg, and Oppert, migrated to France, and Zedner, Neubauer, and Deutsch, to England. The secessions in Prussia

were encouraged by the State and welcomed by the King. Not only were the Jews excluded from all public positions, denied all civil and political rights, and subjected to special humiliations, but even when they attempted to reform the Synagogue service in the hope of stemming the tide of apostasy, they were hindered by the Government, which forbade the use in the synagogue of the German language and the wearing of the *talar* (minister's gown). The joy in the royal household at the desertions from Judaism was shown by the fact that Frederick William III rewarded every apostate with a bonus of ten ducats, whilst Frederick William IV presented a gift to every converted Jewess on her marriage. The premium thus directly placed upon apostasy was continued in another form by the German Government until the establishment of the Republic, for no Jew could aspire to a position in the civil service, or to an ordinary professorship in a university, or even to a commission in the army: only the waters of baptism could wash his blemish away. Many Jews have adopted Christianity under the impression that only thus could they become perfect Germans, in accordance with the irrational doctrine propounded by the historians Mommsen, Treitschke, and Paulsen. In Russia, throughout the nineteenth century, as at present, the forces working in favour of apostasy were much more powerful than in any other country, as the disabilities and humiliations, apart from physical persecution, to which they were subjected were far more numerous and oppressive. Upon his accession Nicholas I (1825-55) ordered all Jews who were in the Government service to become baptised or to leave their positions; and as his zealous endeavours to win over adult Jews to Christianity met with little success he had boys from eight years of age torn from their homes at midnight by the police and drafted into the "cantonist" schools, where they were prepared for military service and forced or wheedled into Christianity as part of their training.

The State is only passive in the promotion of Jewish apostasy; it is the Church, through a network of missionary societies, that actively and systematically fosters it. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the efforts of missionaries to convert the Jews were carried on only sporadically, but since the establishment in 1809 of the London Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews, missionary societies have sprung up in all parts of the world. At the International Missionary Conferences held in 1927 at Budapest and Warsaw there were represented 47 societies, employing 724 missionary

workers—mostly converted Jews—at 169 stations, but these numbers do not by any means comprise the entire army of evangelists of all the various Christian denominations and do not include any at all of the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> The missionaries are dispersed throughout the globe, in the New World as in the Old, in modern communities such as London and Paris, Berlin and New York, as well as in semi-civilized countries like Persia and Abyssinia, Syria and Morocco, all labouring with zeal, energy, and cunning to undermine the faith of impoverished and weak-kneed Jews. Their methods are manifold: they distribute New Testaments and tracts in all languages, including Hebrew and Yiddish; they preach in mission-halls and in the open air; they give lime-light lectures to attract unsuspecting children who are presented with sweets to come again; they maintain reading-rooms to entice the Jewish workman at night; they conduct "homes of industry" where unemployed Jews are trained in printing, bookbinding, and carpentry, and simultaneously initiated into the Gospel. They also maintain hospitals and dispensaries to which poor Jews resort in their distress, and where their souls are doctored equally with their bodies; they conduct mission schools in a number of cities in the Orient, where Jewish children are taught not merely reading and arithmetic but the Christian catechism; and they meet hapless emigrants from Eastern Europe at Hamburg and Rotterdam, Hull and Liverpool, and accompany them on steamers and trains, expounding the mysteries of the Trinity on the way and exploiting the misery of their listeners. This world-wide campaign of soul-hunting is prosecuted solely among the poor, who are expected to fall a prey more readily to the dangling bait; the rich Jews are left alone, not because their souls are not thought worth "saving," but because the missionaries have no access to them or cannot tempt them with any material reward. The cost of this work of "salvation" is enormous. Between the years 1863 and 1894 the London Society spent from £600 to £3000 upon the conversion of a single Jew,<sup>2</sup> and in 1898 it spent £28,439 upon the baptism of 28 Jews.<sup>3</sup> Of the societies represented

<sup>1</sup> *The Christian Approach to the Jew*: being a Report of Conferences on the subject held at Budapest and Warsaw in April, 1927 (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1927). The estimated number of missionary agents is about 900 (p. 146). The late Rev. W. T. Gidney, in his *Missions to Jews* (London, 1912), stated that there were 112 Protestant missionary societies, employing 816 missionary workers at 229 stations.

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. IV, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> *Judentaufen im 19. Jahrhundert*, von Dr. N. Samter (Berlin, 1906), p. 64.

at the Budapest and Warsaw Conferences thirty-six had a total income of £223,750 per annum, so that we may assume, even at a moderate estimate, that the aggregate expenditure on the part of all missionary agencies verges upon a million sterling per annum. That the result is utterly incommensurate with the outlay must be obvious to anybody who studies the reports of these societies. It was a recognition of this fact that made the Evangelical Lutheran Central Society for the Mission in Israel, at a conference in 1890 at Hanover, resolve not to despatch any more missionaries in Germany "as mostly only Jewish vagabonds, the scum and outcasts of the people, become baptised."<sup>1</sup> Even a professional missionary, the German pastor De le Roi, declared: "Never has a Jew become baptised through conviction,"<sup>2</sup> and Luther himself characteristically observed: "It is just as possible to convert the Jews as to convert the devil." The net result of this conversionist activity, which is mainly financed by pious spinsters and blessed by the highest dignitaries of the Church, is that it sows dissension between parents and children, that it saps the moral fibre of the poor, and turns bad Jews into worse Christians. What a world of good could be accomplished if the million sterling were devoted to the suppressing of pauperism and the fighting of crime!

Let us now examine the number of Jews that have been lost through apostasy in modern times. According to the German pastor, J. de le Roi,<sup>3</sup> who has made a careful investigation of the subject, the total number of Jewish baptisms throughout the world in the nineteenth century amounted to 204,542. The table on p. 274 shows the number contributed by each country and by each of the three principal Churches.

To this total De le Roi adds 19,460 baptisms of the children of mixed marriages, so that the grand total of Jewish defections to Christianity last century amounted (in round figures) to 224,000. The conversions in the course of the century underwent a certain fluctuation in response to the change of political conditions: they reached their lowest level in the sixth and seventh decades, when political emancipation was granted to most of the Jewish communities, and steadily began to rise after the 'eighties, partly as a result of the growth of anti-Semitism and partly because of the increased activity of the

<sup>1</sup> *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1891, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1893, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> *Judentaufen im 19. Jahrhundert*, von Lic. Joh. de le Roi (Leipzig, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899).

## JEWISH BAPTISMS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

	Protestant Church.	Roman Catholic Church.	Greek Church.	Total.
United Kingdom . . .	28,830 <sup>1</sup>			28,830
Germany . . .	17,520	5,000		22,520
Holland . . .	1,800			1,800
Norway and Sweden . .	500			500
Denmark . . .	100			100
Switzerland . . .	100			100
France . . .	600	1,800		2,400
Austria . . .	6,300	28,200	} 200	} 44,756
Hungary . . .	2,056	8,000		
Russia . . .	3,136	12,000	69,400	84,536
Rumania . . .			1,500	1,500
Turkey . . .			3,300	3,300
Greece, Bulgaria, Servia .			100	100
Italy . . .		300		300
Asia and Africa . . .	100	500		600
Australia . . .	200			200
North America . . .	11,500	1,500 <sup>2</sup>		13,000
	<hr/> 72,742	<hr/> 57,300	<hr/> 74,500	<hr/> 204,542

missionaries. In Russia they reached the highest figure, 4439, in the year 1854; they then declined to 352 in 1863; but under Alexander III they again increased to 1420 in 1893. Germany witnessed two main periods of apostasy, the first from 1822 to 1840, when there was an average of 122 converts a year, and the second, with the rise of anti-Semitism, from 1880, reaching the highest figure, 348, in 1888. Most remarkable are the number of defections in the United Kingdom: the total, 23,500, in proportion to the Jewish population of the country, represents a ratio of apostasy six times larger than that in Germany,<sup>3</sup> which is usually regarded as the classic land of Jewish baptisms. The Church that has relatively been most successful in enriching itself at the expense of Jewry is the Protestant Church, considering that the number of Jews in purely Protestant countries form only a small minority, and its success is doubtless due to the energy of the missionary societies.

The defections from Judaism have continued with even greater intensity since the beginning of the twentieth century, partly in the direct form of baptism and partly through inter-

<sup>1</sup> Includes 5330 conversions made by British missions abroad.

<sup>2</sup> Includes conversions to the Catholic Church in Holland and Switzerland.

<sup>3</sup> De le Roi, p. 22.

marriage, and they have received a considerable impetus through the War and all its evil consequences. Their increase is particularly noteworthy in the great Jewish centres of Vienna, Budapest, and Berlin, where even the regular publication in a Jewish newspaper of the names of the renegades hardly acts as a deterrent. Before the War the number of Jewish defections in all the provinces of Austria was computed at 840-900 per annum, which was equivalent to one in every 1360-1480 Jews,<sup>1</sup> whereas now that total is even exceeded in Vienna alone. In that city, the principal hot-bed of apostasy in Austria, there were in 1868-79 50 baptisms per annum, equal to one among 1200 Jews; in 1880-89, 220 baptisms per annum, equal to one among 420-430; and in 1890-1903, 455 per annum, equal to one among 260-270 Jews. But in the five years 1906-10, when there were 2818 defections (1512 males and 1306 females), although the average rose to 563 per annum, it amounted, owing to the increase of the population, to one defection among 293-294 Jews, which seemed to point to a slight slackening of apostasy, whilst in the lustrum 1921-25, when there was a total of 4793 defections, the average, which was as high as 958 per annum, represented one defection among 210 Jews—the highest ratio yet reached.<sup>2</sup> As for the absolute figures, they declined from 639 in 1903 to 512 in 1910, rising again to 627 in 1911, to 1011 in 1921, and to 1063 in 1927. An interesting feature of the defections in Vienna is that a good proportion consists of those who do not join the Church but declare themselves free-thinkers, an act that is invested with less moral turpitude in the eyes of the Jewish community, and which is generally committed to pave the way to a mixed marriage, as marriages between Jews and Christians are forbidden in Austria, or to escape the burden of communal taxation. In 1886-1903 one-fifth, and in 1904-27 one-fourth of the Jews in Vienna who deserted the pale declared themselves *confessionslos*. From 1901 to 1927 the total number of Jews who seceded from the community was 19,476, and if we add to this number children under seven years of age who left Judaism together with their parents we arrive at a total loss of about 25,000. It is furthermore interesting to note that

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. Thon, *Die Juden in Österreich*, pp. 69-80. In Austria, Hungary, and Germany those who secede from Judaism must report their secession to a civil authority, and hence official statistics of such secessions are available. Children under 7 years of age are included in their parents' conversion, but are not registered; those above 14 are registered separately; whilst children between these ages remain in the old faith until they reach the latter age.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Juden Wiens*, by Dr. L. Goldhammer, pp. 30-31.

in the period 1901-27 there were 4341 proselytes to Judaism, caused by marriages with persons of the Jewish faith ; but these can hardly be regarded as a compensation for communal losses, as the offspring of such marriages invariably, sooner or later, drift away. The proselytes generally comprise two to three times as many women as men, owing to marriages between Christian women and Jews being much more frequent than between Christians and Jewesses. Moreover, a small percentage of converted Jews drift back to the fold.

In Hungary the number of defections in the period 1895-1911 was 6915, an average of 406 per annum, corresponding to one among 2260 Jews.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, the actual figures must have been higher, as the official record includes only those who made personal declarations of withdrawal from Judaism, and, as in Austria, does not include children under 7 years of age. The defections rose from 169 in 1897 to 486 in 1901, and again to 512 in 1910, declining to 473 in 1911. In Budapest alone there were 1539 cases of apostasy in 1896-1904, an average of 171 per annum, corresponding to one among 1088 Jews. In the whole of Hungary there were 106 proselytes against 510 defections in 1908, and 124 proselytes against 512 defections in 1910. The number of desertions from Judaism rose considerably shortly after the War in consequence of the panic produced among the Jewish population by the White Terror, from whose perils baptism was deemed to afford the safest protection. In the year 1919 alone 7146 Jews in Hungary (of whom there were 3000 in Budapest) were baptised, whilst the numbers in the following years showed a marked decrease : 1925 in 1920, 827 in 1921, 499 in 1922, and 433 in 1924. From 1919 to 1924 there were altogether 11,288 Jews in Hungary who were baptised, whilst in the same period 1529 converts returned to Judaism.<sup>2</sup> There has also been a number of conversions to Judaism, in consequence of intermarriage, amounting to about 1000 during the last eight years.

The progress of apostasy in Germany can be seen from the table on p. 277, which shows the desertions to the Protestant Church.

The number of apostasies has fallen from an average of 483 per annum in the first decade of this century to 359 in the lustrum 1920-24, a decline that is probably due to the advance of political liberalism since the establishment of the Republic.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Welt*, 1913, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin of the Jew. Tel. Agency*, November 8, 1926. Also cf. the official figures in the *American Jewish Year-Book* for 1927-28, p. 281.



Year.	Berlin.	Prussia.	Rest of Germany.	Total No. of Jews in Germany.
1880-89	815	2,033	612	2,645
1890-99	1,331	3,315	1,174	4,489
1900-09	1,474	3,607	1,232	4,839
1910-19	1,188	3,058	1,112	4,170
1920	119	324	128	452
1921	92	252	109	361
1922	78	207	110	317
1923	94	302	121	423
1924	54	177	66	243
Total	5,245	13,275	4,664	17,939

The largest proportion is contributed by Berlin. Secessions from the Jewish community involving no change of faith have, however, been much more numerous: in Berlin alone, from 1912 to 1922, there have been 2493 such cases, an average of 272 secessions per annum, or one to about every 630 Jews.<sup>1</sup>

The signs of the times point to an increasing drift from Judaism. The decline in religious faith in general makes the change from one creed to another an easy process, as it is not judged by the world as severely as in a previous generation: it is often regarded as of no greater significance than a transference of State allegiance, and the average renegade receives his baptismal certificate almost with the same ease of conscience as he would a letter of naturalization. The all-compelling motive is the desire for equality of opportunity in the competition of life, and hence thousands of Jewish parents of the middle and upper classes in Germany, Austria, and Hungary who hesitate to secede themselves, as they can no longer benefit by the act, do not scruple to have their children baptised in infancy, so as to secure for them an uninterrupted path for their later career.

The severest ravages caused by apostasy have taken place during the last twenty years in Russia, where the Jews, before the War, were rendered desperate by the pogroms and by State persecution, and where, since the Bolshevik Revolution, they have been subjected to the ruthless anti-religious policy of the Government. During the last two years before the War more conversions were said to have occurred in Russian Jewry

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jüdisches Lexicon*, Vol. I, art. "Austrittsbewegung."

than during the previous twenty years.<sup>1</sup> The class that was particularly affected consisted of those engaged in liberal professions and those who wished to enter them : as the universities were closed to all but a very trifling number the only sure method of securing admission was to present a baptismal certificate, and hence on the eve of every academic session there were wholesale baptisms of Jewish students. In Odessa there was a society formed by forty Jewish students to discuss what religion they should adopt and to deliberate upon measures of self-protection from the effects of their apostasy. There is no longer any need for Jews, whether students or not, to seek refuge in the Church, for the Soviet Government is opposed to all creeds alike. It has enacted laws and organized propaganda which are designed to suppress religious institutions, to undermine faith and to diminish religious observance in all denominations, with the result that Judaism has suffered far more gravely from the atheists of the Kremlin than ever it had done from the fanatical reactionaries of the Holy Synod. Religious instruction in Jewish schools, whether public or private, or in other cultural institutions, is prohibited ; teachers of religion and Hebrew are hunted down and sentenced to imprisonment ; hundreds of synagogues have been confiscated and converted into workmen's clubs or cinema theatres or devoted to some other profane purpose ; Torah scrolls and works of sacred literature have been destroyed ; and traditional rites and ceremonies have been systematically ridiculed and desecrated by public performances, newspaper cartoons, and blasphemous publications. The most revolting feature of this anti-Jewish persecution is that it is conducted—and that too with the utmost vindictiveness and ruthlessness—by the " Jewish Sections " (*Jewseksia*) established in all communities by the Jewish Department of the Commissariat of Nationalities to administer and control Jewish affairs.<sup>2</sup> Judaism still survives in Russia, despite the unceasing onslaughts to which it has been subjected during the last ten years, but it has undergone widespread ravage, and the new generation can neither share nor understand the piety of bygone generations which made Russian Jewry a reservoir of orthodoxy for the Jews of the world.

<sup>1</sup> This was the opinion of Dr. A. Coralnik, formerly Berlin correspondent of the *Kiev Retsch*. Mr. Reuben Brainin, the eminent Hebrew author, told me that he considered even this estimate too low.

<sup>2</sup> See *Memorandum of the Joint Foreign Committee on the Correspondence with the Soviet Government respecting the Persecution of Judaism in Russia* (London, 1923).

But a far more sinister and dangerous foe than conversion is intermarriage, the inevitable outcome of social intercourse between Jews and Christians. Until about the middle of last century marriages between Jews and Christians in which both parties adhered to their parental religion were comparatively rare, as they were forbidden not only by the Synagogue and the Church but also by the Governments of the countries in which the great bulk of Jews were settled. They first developed to notable proportions in France, under the benign influence of political emancipation, and were looked upon with favour by Napoleon, who submitted a question on the legality of such unions from the point of view of Jewish law to the Paris Sanhedrin of 1806. The reply of the Sanhedrin was evasive as it simply stated: "Marriages between Israelites and Christians when concluded in accordance with the civil code are valid, and though they cannot be solemnized by the religious rites of Judaism, they should not be subject to the ban."<sup>1</sup> This pronouncement almost amounted to an acquiescence in mixed marriages, and perhaps accounted for the large number of unions between Jews and Christians in the succeeding decades, in which the impoverished aristocracy of France replenished its coffers and redeemed its estates with Jewish dowries. A similar tendency towards alliances between the Christian nobility and the daughters of Israel manifested itself in other countries of Europe, including England, and there is now an extensive and brilliant array of titled families, many of them with very ancient pedigrees and allied to royal houses, that have been infused with Jewish blood.<sup>2</sup> The marriage-bond has been warmly advocated by statesmen and philosophers as the most effective method of reconciling Jewry and Christendom and redeeming Israel at length from all its troubles. Bismarck's approval of intermarriage was qualified by the restriction that only "a Christian stallion should be mated to a Jewish mare,"<sup>3</sup> and he is said not to have been at all opposed to one of his sons marrying a Jewess. But whether an increase of mixed marriages would put an end to anti-Semitism is very doubtful, as such unions have produced some of the bitterest foes of Israel. Intermarriage could put an end to anti-Semitism only by first putting an end to Jewry itself.

The degree of the prevalence of intermarriage in various

<sup>1</sup> Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Vol. V, p. 529.

<sup>2</sup> An imposing list is given by Dr. N. Samter, *Judentaufen*, pp. 87-93.

<sup>3</sup> M. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute* (Leipzig, 1878), Vol. II, p. 218.

countries directly corresponds with the degree of religious indifference: those who never eat at a Christian table are never likely to be united for life to a Christian; but it also depends in a large measure upon the material prosperity of the Jews and the degree of their social intercourse with their neighbours. Hence in the regions marked by poverty and by attachment to traditional Judaism, such as Eastern Europe and the Orient, mixed marriages are very rare. In Galicia there were only six cases in the years 1900-3, whilst in the Bukovina there was not even one in that period. Similarly in Rumania mixed marriages formed only 1.11 per cent of the purely Jewish marriages in 1898-99, though the percentage in Bucharest in 1904-5 was 3.52.<sup>1</sup> Mixed marriages are still forbidden in Catholic countries, whether subject to the Roman or the Greek Church, as well as in all Moslem countries, and hence they are unknown in Austria, Spain, and Portugal, and wherever the rule of Islam prevails. In Austria the only mixed marriages permitted and recorded are those between Jews and persons of no religion or free-thinkers, although unions between Christians and free-thinkers, which are not recorded, may just as well be mixed Jewish marriages. The proportion of mixed to purely Jewish marriages thus seems very low: between 1881 and 1909 the mixed marriages increased from 51 to 216 and the pure marriages from 3287 to 9474, the proportion of persons contracting mixed marriages rising from .79 to 1.1 per cent.<sup>2</sup> A considerably higher percentage, however, is shown since the War by Vienna itself, where purely Jewish marriages rose from 864 in the years 1900-3 to 1358 in the year 1919, whilst mixed Jewish marriages rose from 92 to 426 in the same period. Thus, in the year 1919, for 2716 Jews who contracted a purely Jewish marriage, 426 took a non-Jewish consort, which is a percentage of 15.6.<sup>3</sup> Hungary, which has a lower record of conversion, also has a lower record of mixed marriages, which have been allowed there since 1895. In 1895-99 there was an average of 372 mixed marriages and 6694 purely Jewish marriages per annum, a percentage of 2.78; but by the year 1911 the numbers rose to 786 and 7361 respec-

<sup>1</sup> *Die Juden in Rumänien* (Berlin, 1908), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1912, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Leo Goldhammer in *Die Juden Wiens*, p. 18. He points out that in 1919 "one-fourth of all marriages contracted by Jews were mixed marriages," but to arrive at a correct proportion we must multiply the purely Jewish marriages by two, since every such marriage represents two Jews as against one in a mixed marriage. A similar error in determining the proportion of mixed marriages to purely Jewish marriages is made by Dr. A. Ruppin in his *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, 1911 edition (pp. 158-169).

tively, showing more than double this initial percentage, viz. 5.68.<sup>1</sup> The position in Hungary since the War has not undergone any appreciable change, as will be seen from the following figures :<sup>2</sup>

Number of Jews married	1920	1921	1922
—to Jews . . . . .	23,134	19,856	19,878
—to non-Jews . . . . .	1,043	958	1,067
Percentage of mixed marriages .	4.5	4.8	5.3

The high rate of divorce among Jews married to non-Jews is very significant, the percentage being 15.03 in 1921, and 18.55 in 1922, which is between three and four times the rate of divorce in the case of purely Jewish marriages in Hungary.

A considerable ascent in the scale of exogamy is provided by Germany, where mixed marriages have been allowed since 1875. In 1901 there were 658 such unions to 3873 purely Jewish marriages, but in 1910 the mixed marriages had risen to 1003 whilst the unmixed marriages stood at 3880: the increased proportion of intermarriages being represented by a rise from 8.48 to 12.92 per cent.<sup>3</sup> A still more alarming growth of mixed unions took place in the first year after the outbreak of the War, but although they declined somewhat in the succeeding years, their proportion is still disquieting, as shown by the following table :<sup>4</sup>

	1915	1916	1918	1919	1920	1922	1924	1926
Purely Jewish marriages .	1,098	1,292	2,171	6,295	7,499	5,025	4,083	2,656
Mixed marriages	1,143	967	1,084	1,929	2,207	2,038	1,547	1,315
Percentage of mixed marr.	52.04	37.42	24.96	15.32	14.70	20.27	18.94	24.75

These abnormally high figures have been equalled by Copenhagen, which contains four-fifths of the Jews of Denmark, and where, in the period 1880-89, the proportion of mixed marriages was 27.9 per cent, and in 1900-5 as high as 41.4 per cent. In Sweden, according to Dr. Samter, there used to be more mixed marriages than purely Jewish marriages,<sup>5</sup> but that was before the influx of Jewish immigration from Russia. The only other European community for which recent figures are available

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1913, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *American Jewish Year Book*, 1927-28, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Demog.*, p. 166; 1913, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Blätter für Demog. d. Juden*, No. 3, p. 114, and *Ose-Rundschau*, March, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> *Judentaufen*, p. 82.

is Petrograd, where in the year July, 1919–July, 1920, there were 244 mixed marriages to 516 purely Jewish marriages, a proportion of 23·64 per cent.

There are no statistics available for England and America, where mixed marriages are by no means an unknown phenomenon; they are steadily on the increase among the upper middle and rich classes, especially since the War, but rather infrequent among the East European Jews in London, New York, and other large cities. The advanced religious liberalism in the United States makes that country a fertile soil for intermarriages, especially as certain Reform Rabbis are willing to solemnize them: they are estimated at 5 per cent in the Northern and about 33 per cent in the Southern States.<sup>1</sup> The only English-speaking region of which statistics are available is Australia, where, according to the census of 1911, the proportion of mixed marriages was 20·4 per cent,<sup>2</sup> which is lower on the scale than the record of Germany. Owing to a revival of religious and communal life, there has been a certain diminution during the last decade or two in the proportion of mixed marriages in Australia, where in 1901 they amounted to 46·1 per cent.

The widespread prevalence of intermarriage constitutes a grave and growing loss to Jewry, as only a small percentage of the offspring of mixed unions is permanently retained within the fold. Whether Judæo-Christian marriages are as fertile as purely Jewish marriages is a question that has not yet been definitely solved. Dr. Fishberg has stated<sup>3</sup> that Dr. Ruppin "showed conclusively" that there is no real basis for asserting that mixed marriages are less fertile than pure ones, but Dr. Ruppin is not so positive on this point. On the contrary, he says: "It is to a certain degree probable that infertility is more frequent in mixed than in pure marriages," and he quotes the Prussian statistics for 1905 which show that 37·91 per cent of the existing mixed marriages were childless.<sup>4</sup> Even Dr. Fishberg quotes the New South Wales Census of 1901, which shows that while the average number of children per family of the general population was 3·48 and the average number in a purely Jewish family 4·06, the average in a Judæo-Christian family was 2·01. Dr. Max Markuse, who has made a special study of the question, maintains that the relative infertility of mixed marriages is due not to any racial incon-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. M. Fishberg, *The Jews*, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, March 14, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart*, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *The Jews*, p. 210.

gruence, but to social, economic, and psychological factors, such unions taking place for the most part among persons of a higher social scale and of a later age, who are under the influence of prudential considerations.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to determine with exactness the relative fecundity of pure and mixed marriages until an investigation is made into the number of children of the existing pure and mixed marriages in a particular country born within a given period after marriage. What is certain, however, is that there is a gradual decline in the number of births from purely Jewish marriages and a parallel increase in the number of births from mixed marriages, so that the children of intermarriages form a steadily growing proportion of Jewish posterity. In Prussia this proportion rose from 3.48 to 12.03 per cent, and in Bavaria from 0.83 to 6.69 per cent, in the period 1875-1908; in Hungary it increased from 0.97 to 1.87 per cent in 1897-1906; in Holland it was 4.8 and in Copenhagen 47.2 per cent in 1906.<sup>2</sup> And, what is most significant of all, the percentage of children of mixed marriages who definitely remain within the Jewish pale is gradually decreasing. In Prussia the percentage declined from 25.48 to 22.67 between 1890 and 1905; in Hungary the percentage for 1896-1906 was only 14.04; and in Copenhagen, in 1906, it was 16.5. Moreover, these figures relate to the children who are still under the parental roof, but a considerable discount must be made when we remember that such children have a strong temptation to desert the Jewish fold; as they already have Christian relatives and the Jewish influences at home are weak their secession to Christendom when they grow up is almost natural. We can therefore agree with Dr. Ruppin that perhaps not more than a tenth of the offspring of mixed marriages is kept within the Jewish community.

Religious indifference, secession, baptism, intermarriage—such are the various ways in which Jewry is being reft of its children year by year and in which its strength is likely to be sapped in even greater measure in the years to come.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Max Markuse, *Die Fruchtbarkeit der christlich-jüdischen Mischehe* (Markus u. Weber, Bonn, 1920), and *Der Zeugungswert der Verwandtenehen u. der Mischehe* (*Zeitschrift f. Sexual-Wissenschaft*, 1922), cited by Dr. Rafael Becker in his article in *Blätter für Demographie der Juden*, No. 3, pp. 154-156.

<sup>2</sup> Ruppin, p. 170 seq.





## BOOK VII

# THE NATIONAL ASPECT

### INTRODUCTION

A summary retrospect—The Jewish Question *par excellence*.

WE have now surveyed the life and labour of modern Jewry from every important angle of vision. We have studied its social conditions, customs, and institutions. We have examined its varied status of freedom or oppression in the political world, and noted the services it has rendered in such generous measure to contemporary States. We have investigated its distribution and labours in the different departments of the economic sphere, its ceaseless wanderings, and its inordinate share of poverty. We have surveyed its activity in the intellectual world, its abnormal participation in advanced education, its cultural products of a national character, and its manifold contributions to the culture and progress of humanity. And lastly, we have passed under review its religious conditions and tendencies, the contrasts of faith and observance that manifest themselves, the general decline of traditional piety, and the increasing growth of apostasy and intermarriage.

We have now to inquire into the general drift of all the currents and tendencies that we have observed in this sequence of surveys, to see whether the prospects of the Jewish people as a whole—as a people and not as a multitude of scattered groups—are good or bad : in short, to estimate what is to be the future, the destiny of the Jewish people. It is this question that is the Jewish Question *par excellence*. Every country with a large Jewish population has, it is true, its own Jewish question : in Russia it is the denial of religious liberty, in Rumania, Austria, and Hungary it is the prevalence of anti-Semitism, in England and America it is the restriction of alien immigration and of Sunday labour. In each of these countries the Jews are mostly concerned with their own local question. But above and beyond all these local questions is the great

question of the future of Jewry, of which the other questions are merely parts. Is Jewry destined to grow in number and strength ; or has it already, like many other nations in ancient times, attained the height of its development, and is it now doomed to dwindle slowly but surely to a position of insignificance ? What is the strength of the forces that are making for its dissolution, what the strength of the forces of conservation, and on which side lies the balance ? And if the balance lies on the side of the forces of dissolution, what effective measure can be adopted to counteract them and so ensure for the Jewish people a prolongation and perpetuation of useful life ?

## CHAPTER I

### ASSIMILATION OR CONSERVATION ?

The conserving influence of the Ghetto—The disintegrating effect of intellectual emancipation, and of social and political emancipation—Assimilation in Eastern Jewry—Anti-Semitism as a conserving force : post-War manifestations—*Protocols of the Elders of Zion*—The inherent conserving force of communal organization—The relative importance of religion and territory—Nation or religious community ?—The economic condition of national existence—The intellectual condition : language and education—The physical condition : compact concentration—The land question.

THE Jewish people has occupied the stage of history for such a considerable span of time that any suggestion of the possibility of its extinction may perhaps be spurned as unthinkable. A nation that has survived exile nearly two thousand years, that has passed through endless crises and perils, endured countless persecutions, expulsions, and massacres, and that to-day, scattered over the face of the whole world, is more numerous than at any previous period in its annals and flourishes in a multitude of populous communities in every continent—that such a nation should now show signs of decay and dissolution, may perhaps be regarded as the view of a purblind pessimist or the fancy of a paradox-monger. But it is neither. A dispassionate and comprehensive survey of Jewish life at the present day shows that its conditions and tendencies are utterly different from those that prevailed until the spread of emancipation and that their resultant effect militates against its survival. Cooped up as the Jews were in former ages in Ghettos, isolated from the rest of the population not only locally and socially, but also economically and intellectually, they led a life of their own, self-contained if not always self-contented, in which they cultivated their traditional ideals and customs and fostered and developed their cultural possessions. Although they had no land of their own they made their Ghetto a little Zion, pending the call of the Messiah whom they were willing at any moment to follow to the historic Zion ; although they no longer spoke the national tongue of their forefathers they prayed in it daily and under-

stood it, and they had a peculiar language of their own in many lands, Judæo-German, Judæo-Spanish, or Judæo-Arabic ; although they no longer dwelt on the banks of the Jordan or at the foot of Mount Carmel their lives were coloured by customs and visions of the Holy Land, and all their sufferings were soothed by the thought that they would one day be gathered again to the land of their ancestors. Living as they did in the midst of all the nations, and exposed on every side to obloquy and hostility, they nevertheless had the surest guarantee of survival, for they lived a life of their own and were sustained by the hope of a national restoration.

But since the dawn of emancipation a change has come over the face of Jewry : it has been slowly giving up its own life and adopting the life of its Christian neighbours. The change began long before the spread of political emancipation : it began with the intellectual emancipation that started upon its course at the end of the eighteenth century, when the Jews exchanged their own tongue for the language of their country, when they abandoned their exclusive devotion to a religious education and acquired all branches of secular learning, and when they extended their intellectual horizon by studying the philosophy and literature of other nations. One of the motives that impelled them along this course was the desire to show themselves worthy of civil equality, for the burdens and humiliations to which they were subjected, particularly on the Continent, did not become pleasanter even after long acquaintance. And with the acquisition of civil rights, granted in no country willingly, but fought for everywhere stubbornly and secured only in instalments, a further impetus was given to the quest of higher education, for gradually the universities were thrown open to Jewish students, and, with their traditional passion for learning, Jews were not slow to avail themselves of the welcome opportunity. The effect of the acquisition of modern education has been elevating and fructifying so far as individual Jews are concerned, for they have distinguished themselves in a constantly growing measure in every department of scholarship and science and have rendered important and lasting contributions to the culture and progress of humanity. But the effect upon Jewry as a people has been disintegrating, for intellectual enlightenment has dissolved the bond of faith and dispelled the customs and ideals of tradition. It has undermined the allegiance of the Jew both to the Oral and the Written Law, weakened his observance of the Sabbath and of the cycle of feasts and fasts, estranged him from the

Synagogue, made him neglectful and forgetful of his national tongue, and drawn him with ever more irresistible attraction to the world of thought around him. Such an effect was inevitable, for when the Jew is taught in a Gentile school and fed upon Gentile literature; when he receives all his edification and inspiration from Gentile sources—books, newspapers, pictures, plays, operas, and the thousand and one social, intellectual, and political movements of the day—not because he deliberately chooses them, but because he has no choice at all in his environment, it is but natural that his spirit should undergo a transformation and become assimilated to the spirit of the nation in whose midst he dwells.

Education alone, however, would not have produced assimilation to any wide extent; this effect would have been confined almost wholly to the richer class. But the intellectual emancipation was soon followed by social emancipation, by free intercourse between Jews and Gentiles in society and in commerce; and by the middle of the nineteenth century almost the whole of Western Jewry was endowed with civil and political equality. All the artificial barriers that had hitherto divided Jew from Gentile were thus overthrown and removed, and there began a movement of fraternization, to atone, as it were, for the hostility of centuries. All avenues became open to Jewish enterprise and ambition, all branches of economic activity, trades and manufactures, the liberal professions, and municipal and Government service. With resistless advance the Jews pressed forward along every path, fired by ambition and aided by talent, lured ever farther from the narrow confines of the Ghetto to the dazzling careers that awaited them in the outer world, where many of them sooner or later forgot their origin, or even forswore it to attain their goal. For whilst in lands of perfect equality, such as England, America, and Italy, Jews could attain to the highest offices without any sacrifice of their faith, in Central Europe Judaism still constitutes a disability of which many rid themselves with an easy conscience and a little baptismal water. But even among those who do not move in intellectual or political circles, free unfettered intercourse with their Christian neighbours in social and business relations has wrought damage to the Jewish community, for an increasing number of its children have intermarried with the children of the Church, and though they may nominally continue their adhesion to Judaism their very act gives it the lie, and their posterity are lost for ever to the Jewish fold. The net result of emancipation has thus been

assimilation in every land and in every class, an assimilation that is confined for the most part to the social and intellectual life, but which trespasses ever more and more upon the religious domain and claims an annually increasing number of apostates and mixed marriages. Even those who do not formally abandon Judaism for Christianity, because they believe in neither, drift away from their people as soon as the Synagogue has ceased to appeal to them; they may for a time, and perhaps even to death, manifest their attachment through philanthropic activity—a sphere of endless dimensions in the Jewish world—but their children are not likely to be retained even by such a bond. Nor is the decadence of Jewry confined to the loss of those whom it once numbered as its children, but it also extends to the diminution of the children who actually come into the world. The ancient ideals of early marriage and a numerous progeny, cultivated with natural impulsiveness and as a national habit throughout the dark days of mediævalism, have lost their virtue in these days of assimilation and social struggle: fewer marriages take place and fewer children are born relatively among the Jews than among the nations around them, and thus they form a steadily declining proportion in nearly every country and present an easier prey to the forces of dissolution.

True, some of the Western lands receive a succession of immigrants from the East, who are still more or less attached to the customs and traditions of the past, and who may be expected to exercise a counteracting influence and to fill up the gaps created by native losses. But these Eastern immigrants are no longer as numerous, nor is their faith as strong and immutable as in the days of yore. The subversive effects of the Great War have stirred the Jewish mind to its depths, Yiddish literature, once confined to homely ballads and sentimental novels, has been invaded by translations of the works of all the realistic writers of modern times and by the revolutionary ideas of all rationalist thinkers, and religious observance has been both deeply and widely shaken. Thus, the intellectual assimilation that has already advanced so far in the West is also penetrating more and more into the orthodox strongholds of the East, thanks partly to the irresistible spirit of the times and partly to the anti-religious crusade of the Soviet Government. And even those who have successfully resisted the influence of assimilation at home in the East, where they live in a predominantly Jewish environment, are able to offer less resistance in the maelstrom of the West,

where they are exposed to a thousand subtle currents that sweep them away from their ancient moorings; whilst their children offer no resistance at all and are rapidly assimilated in habit and appearance, in thought and language, to the predominant type. Moreover, even among the seven million Jews in Eastern Europe and the Orient modern education is being fostered more and more assiduously, and its effects are bound to be the same as among the Jews in the West. Such, then, are the main forces of dissolution that are at work.

What now are the forces of conservation? Anti-Semitism has always been advanced as one of the great mainstays of Jewry, for it is believed to quicken the racial consciousness even in the slumbering soul of the most indifferent and to rally every community to measures of self-protection. If such were indeed its effect, and if it were produced everywhere unflinching, it might in truth be claimed as an auxiliary, however unworthy, of the Jewish survival: for it is rampant over the greater area of the Jewish world, protean in its forms, diabolical in its ingenuity, ruthless in its assault, the offspring of ignorance, envy, and traditional superstitions. Anti-Semitism dogs the footsteps of the Jew in every land, in free republics as in despotic monarchies, in Bolshevik Russia as in capitalistic States, and it has derived fresh strength from the passions aroused by the Great War and raged alike in the countries of the victors as in those of the vanquished.

Whatever virtue the Jew possesses is stigmatized as a vice, whatever failing he has—the product of centuries of oppression—is exaggerated as a crime. On the one hand, he is upbraided because he holds aloof socially and does not intermarry with his Christian neighbours; on the other hand, he is told that he comes of an inferior stock and is not wanted. The rich Jews do, indeed, intermarry with their neighbours and are welcomed for their wealth; it is the poor who do not, and who are attacked on other grounds. And yet despite this hatred, varying in form from a comic caricature to a bloodthirsty pogrom, the Jew is not everywhere stung by it to a sense of national pride, to an attitude of self-defence. What is more striking than the vast spread of apostasy and mixed marriages in the very lands, Germany, Austria, and Hungary, where anti-Semitism is most rampant and provides a plank for political parties? The very contempt of the Jew displayed by his intolerant neighbour has made many a weakling bend his back to the storm—and turn his feet to the baptismal font; and yet the converted Jew, be he never so diligent in Church

attendance, is not less subject to scorn than before, for his baptismal certificate cannot convert his physiognomy and merely advertises his hypocrisy. A number of converted Jews, whose desertion took place through fear (as under the White Terror in Hungary) or in childhood, have indeed returned to the fold, but they form only a small fraction of the total.<sup>1</sup>

What more telling proof of the inadequacy of anti-Semitism as a bulwark of Judaism than the experience of the last decade, which has witnessed a recrudescence of anti-Jewish hostility far more violent and widespread than any known in pre-War days, but without being redeemed by the least slackening in the process of drift and desertion? The War itself, which was expected by visionaries to generate a feeling of brotherhood between the contending nations and to lead to a humane and generous treatment for all oppressed peoples, gave birth to a new barbarism, of which the Jews were everywhere the chosen victims. Throughout the four years of warfare they were subjected, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, to all sorts of slanderous accusations reflecting upon their honour, their honesty, their bravery, and their patriotism, singled out as scapegoats for their country's misfortunes, and punished with a fiendish cruelty reminiscent of the Inquisition or of the exploits of the Goths and Vandals. They were robbed, imprisoned, and shot as spies; they were evacuated from their homes by hundreds of thousands and driven like dumb cattle to seek covert in distant towns. And when the nations ceased fighting against one another they all united in fighting against the Jews, organizing orgies of slaughter in the Ukraine, pogroms in Poland and Rumania, murderous excesses in Hungary, destructive assaults in Germany, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia, and newspaper attacks in England and America, which the newly created League of Nations was utterly impotent to quell or restrain. Anti-Semitism has become a dominating and irrepressible factor in Jewish life on the Continent, a maleficent force in Christian civilization. It expresses itself not only in books and newspapers—which are perhaps its most tranquil form of utterance—but also in bloodthirsty placards designed to impress and incite the mob. It vitiates the universities, where there is a sinister crusade against both Jewish professors and students, culminating in the *numerus clausus* in Poland

<sup>1</sup> A remarkable instance is that of Emil Ludwig (born Cohn), who was baptized in childhood by his parents, but was so revolted by the assassination of Walter Rathenau by a Christian Monarchist, that he formally and publicly repudiated his Christianity and returned to the Jewish faith.



(where it is law). It disgraces the Parliaments of Germany, Austria, and Poland, and especially of Hungary and Rumania, where anti-Jewish scenes and speeches are the order of the day. It is the symbol and slogan of dozens of parties and organizations, from the "*Schutz und Trutz Bund*" in Germany to the Awakening Magyars in Hungary, from the National Socialists and *Hakenkreuzler* in Austria to the Cuzists in Rumania. It manifests itself not only in a disparagement of Judaism as a religion, not only in a ceaseless denunciation of Jewry in all fields of economic activity and all departments of national life, but also in a vilification of Israel as a race. It operates not only through the iniquitous practices of the State—as in the ignoring of the provisions of the Minorities treaties, the withholding of the rights of naturalization, the withdrawal of concessions, the exclusion from the Civil Service—but also in the repeated appeals to violence, which led to the murder of Rathenau in Germany and of Bethauer in Austria, to the bombing of synagogues in Hungary and the desecration of graveyards in Germany<sup>1</sup> and Rumania. It poisons the founts of justice too, so that wrong-doing against the Jews is immune from punishment and even exalted as an act of patriotism. No charge against the Jew is too far-fetched or unreasonable, no act of brutality too barbarous.

Anti-Semitism on the Continent is now so firmly entrenched and widely ramified that it has organized its own International—the Black International—with a frankly mediæval programme: to expel or extirpate the Jew. The Hungarian and the Rumanian, who, for several years after the War, comported themselves towards one another with anything but Christian love, have joined hands with Russian Monarchists and German *Hakenkreuzler* in an unholy crusade against the Jewish "peril." And as though to incite the rest of the world, which had no particular reason to engage in Jew-baiting, to participate in this barbarous sport, as well as to intensify the enmity of those already engaged therein, there was launched a noxious publication under the title of *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which was represented as the account of a plot of a Jewish organization for the subjugation of Christendom and the establishment of a Jewish world dominion.<sup>2</sup> This forgery,

<sup>1</sup> In Germany 65 Jewish cemeteries have already been desecrated and badly damaged, and the Government has been obliged to enact special legislation to suppress the evil.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published in London in 1920 under the title of *The Jewish Peril* (Eyre & Spottiswoode). This book was a translation of a document published in Russia, in 1905, by Sergei

which was credulously accepted by many deluded leaders of opinion as an explanation of the sudden rise of the Bolshevik State in Russia (falsely attributed by the popular mind largely to Jewish agency) and as a forecast of the subversive conspiracy hatched by the Jews against all Governments, produced a tremendous amount of mischief in the most influential quarters both of Europe and America before its real nature was unmasked. No greater peril could have threatened the already insecure position of the Jewish people than the possible consequences of the circulation of this pernicious fabrication in various languages and editions, which continued through several years and extended from Washington to Shanghai, but the alarm that it aroused failed to evoke anything but an ephemeral rally. Its ultimate effect upon the Jewish consciousness, as seen in the succeeding years, was no more serious or stimulating than that of the Dreyfus affair in France or of the recurrent pogroms in Russia. No, anti-Semitism cannot be reckoned as a conserving force in Jewry: even in its extremest phase it only causes a temporary outburst of racial indignation, but the individual Jew goes on his own way, moulded by the immediate forces around him—social, economic, and intellectual—and is slowly absorbed by his environment.

Are there, then, no positive conserving forces in Jewry itself? Has it not a multitude of organized communities with institutions of every kind, social and intellectual, religious and philanthropic; is it not endowed with a vigorous pulsating life? A consideration of the functions of these various institutions will suffice to show how conditional they are in their existence and how limited in their sphere of influence. The Synagogue has lost the power it wielded even fifty years ago and in this age of rationalism is never likely to regain it; and the allied institutions of the *Beth Hamidrash* ("House of Study") and religion classes are also declining in importance. In Germany, France, and Italy more than one small community in recent years has died out and its synagogue closed through the migration of its members to larger towns, where they are exposed to the forces of assimilation more fully than in their

Nilus, a Government official, which consists of clumsy plagiarisms from the political pamphlet *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu*, directed against Napoleon III and published in Brussels in 1865 by a French lawyer, Maurice Joly. Of the extensive literature on this sinister production it will suffice to refer to (1) *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion*, von B. Segel (Philo Verlag, Berlin, 1924), (2) *The Truth about "The Protocols"* (Times Office, London, 1921), and (3) *The Jewish Bogey*, by Lucien Wolf (Jewish Board of Deputies, London, 1920).

previous homes. The specifically social organizations, clubs, institutes, friendly societies, are cultivated mainly by the immigrant classes and by their children ; but it is the ambition of most Jews in England and America to belong to non-Jewish clubs, whether of a social, professional, or political character. There is an abundance of literary and historical societies, which serve, it is true, to promote an interest in the literature, history, and general conditions of the Jewish people and to keep alive the historic consciousness ; but it is a matter of common knowledge that these societies do not exercise half as strong a spell as those devoted to social amusement, and in any case their activity is almost wholly concentrated on the past and fails to build up anything for the future. There is a still greater number of philanthropic societies, ranging from the powerful Jewish Colonization Association and the Joint Distribution Committee to a small local " bread, meat, and coal society," which stimulate the sentiment of solidarity ; but the activity of these bodies is simply based upon the poverty and oppression of the Jewish masses, which are so dominant a feature of Jewish life. If and when the economic and political conditions of the Jews in the East improve to such an extent as to render help from their brethren in the West superfluous, the springs of solidarity would probably dry up gradually and the forces of assimilation would advance unchecked ; but if, as is more likely to be the case, those conditions will prevail without any appreciable improvement for many a year to come, the process of assimilation will nevertheless continue as hitherto.

The fundamental causes that have wrought the assimilation of Jewry and are destined in the normal course to further its disintegration are the lack of a national territory and the loss of religious faith. The restitution of either of these factors would provide a powerful bulwark against further dissolution and a guarantee for the prolongation of Jewish life. But to hope for a revival of ritual observance as practised throughout the centuries, is to misread all the signs of the present age, with the usurpation of religious authority by science and the supersession of theological dogmas by ethical ideals. We must, therefore, dismiss the possibility of a religious revival, which is precluded, moreover, by the very environment of the Jew ; and in any case, even if it were possible, it would only be confined to a few rare spirits and could only affect their spiritual lives without having any permanent fertilizing influence upon their intellectual activity or contributing to national conservation. Hence the only possible remedy for the present dissolu-

tion, the only effective check to increasing disintegration, is to obtain the restoration of a national territory.

But here the question may arise : *Cui bono* ? If, it is argued by some, the Jewish people shows such numerous and widespread symptoms of decay, why should it be preserved ? Why not let it decay ? The answer is that the decay is not the fault of the Jews but their misfortune, the inevitable product of their anomalous position—their exile. And further, why should the Jews have to justify their existence ? Is any other nation called upon to justify its existence ? Were the Albanians, or the Estonians, for instance, called upon to justify their demand for national conservation ? And yet the Albanians and the Estonians, with all due respect for whatever they may have contributed to the culture and the betterment of the world, cannot be compared with the Jews who have wrought so much. But they have one important advantage : they have a land of their own, and that is sufficient to sweep aside all objections. The Jews, however, have a noble past, chequered with suffering yet rich in achievement, whose claim to national conservation is certainly not less weighty or worthy than that of the Albanians or of the Serbs or the Bulgarians.

There is, it is true, a school of thought in Jewry which maintains that the Jews are not a nation but only a religious community, but this view is little more than a century old, for it was propounded by Moses Mendelssohn to justify the claims of the Jews to political emancipation. But a people that, though scattered for nearly twenty centuries, is bound together not only by the ties of faith but by common racial descent, by a common historical development, by a common and continuous literature, by a common language, by common sufferings and hopes, and which, even in its present unparalleled dispersion, has such a host of social, intellectual, economic, and philanthropic institutions, which subserve no sectarian purpose whatever, can justly regard itself as a nation even though it has no land of its own. It was as a nation that the Jews always regarded themselves from the first day of their exile—as a nation in exile ; and as such alone can they be understood aright. They are not, indeed, a political nationality, for that implies State sovereignty, which they do not possess, but they are assuredly a racial nationality, which, given the requisite conditions, might become again a political nationality. What a pitiful delusion was cherished by the myriads of martyrs throughout the Middle Ages if Israel were

now content to be written down as a mere sect and to be wiped off the roll of the nations! What a waste of blood, of hope, and of prayer, if the ideal of national restoration were now surrendered as a mere fable! There are indeed some who are content to abandon this ideal: those who call themselves Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Germans of "the Jewish persuasion," but these self-same Jews who maintain that they form a religious community are characterized, as a rule, by very little religion. They declare that the Jews were dispersed and must remain dispersed to fulfil a spiritual mission in accordance with the Divine Will, but they are blind to all the signs of the times—that the lands in which the Jews are most faithful to their traditions treat them with the greatest cruelty, and that so far are the Jews in other lands from spreading their mission that they themselves succumb to the mission propagated by Christianity and desert the fold in ever-increasing numbers year by year.

But those who believe in the nationality of their people must devise a method for perpetuating it upon a territory of its own. The mere desire for its continuance, based upon the yearning of countless generations, is a motive sufficient in itself, but when this motive is blended with a pride in the ethical ideals of Judaism and sustained by a confidence in the high intellectual capacity and productivity of the Jews, then one has indeed a splendid stimulus to achieve so great an ideal.

The settlement of the Jews upon a territory of their own must, however, fulfil certain essential conditions if it is to provide the firm basis of a healthy development of national life. The first is an economic condition: the economic life in the national centre must be self-contained in order that the people may be able to develop as naturally and as fully as every other nation, that each individual may be able to follow his own bent and pursue the vocation for which he is best fitted, and that the commonwealth may be able to order and regulate its social life in accordance with its own traditions and desires and without regard to the wishes and customs of others. The basis of such a self-contained economic life must be agriculture, not only because a nation has the surest guarantee of permanence if it can satisfy its own bodily wants, but also because the class that is most closely attached to the soil consists of the farmers and peasants. The artisan can pack up his tools at any moment and migrate to another land with a good prospect of finding employment; the professional man—doctor, author, or artist—can also easily change the scene of

his activity with little compunction and with little fear of incurring any ultimate loss ; but the peasant who is born and reared on the soil is attached to it with an elemental love, and if in addition to a contented living he has a material interest in the soil that he cultivates he cannot lightly drag himself away from his peaceful farmstead to an unknown clime. It is significant that of all the occupations of Russian Jewry comprised among the emigrants to America agriculture is represented by the smallest percentage ; and that the Jews can successfully adapt themselves to agriculture has been abundantly proved by the numerous farm-settlements in Russia and America, not to speak of Palestine.

The second essential condition is of an intellectual nature : the nation must have its own language and, as a natural corollary, its own educational system. Dispersed as the Jews are at present, they speak in many tongues ; but united in a land of their own, they must be linked together by a common tongue, not only that they may understand one another but in order that their life may have a distinctive national impress, a soul of its own, through which its spiritual strivings and literary creations may find a common medium of expression. What this language should be admits of no question : it must be the language through which the soul of the people found articulation when it formerly lived as a nation on its own soil and which has never ceased to be uttered by Jewish lips throughout the centuries of exile. Yiddish is spoken only by half—at the most—of the Jewish people : it is disowned and despised by those in the West and is a strange language to those in the Orient ; and besides it is built up on an alien foundation—medieval German—and has a loose grammar and inexact orthography. But Hebrew has a fixed and elaborate grammatical system ; it is the language of the greatest book in the world, the Bible ; it is the vehicle of a continuous Jewish literature down to the present day, and it is capable of answering all the requirements of a modern cultivated speech in the various spheres of science and invention, art and philosophy, economics and politics, as is amply shown by its remarkable revival in Palestine. That the people must also have its own educational system is an inevitable corollary of the freedom necessary for the use and growth of its language ; and besides, it is in the schools that the foundations of national culture are laid, and a people without a specific culture of its own is only the shadow of a nation. It is, of course, impossible to create a brand-new Jewish culture, nor is there any such desire :

the main elements of culture are common to all civilized countries and they will also be contained in the culture of the Jewish commonwealth, where, however, they will be fused with Jewish ideas and traditions and quickened by a specific intellectual outlook born of the soil. That such a process is conceivable and natural is illustrated by the history of the English people itself, in whose early development alien influences were so strong that French was the language of the courts and the schools till as late as 1362. Visionaries may demand the levelling of all national differences and decry the fostering of yet another culture: but as long as nations are divided by mountains and seas such differences will remain, and the culture of mankind is all the richer by virtue of its variety. The culture of the new Judæa, moreover, will not be antagonistic to European culture, but complementary to it, produced under the influence of Jewish thought, in the normal course of national development, on a Jewish soil.

A third essential condition is of a physical nature: the national settlement must consist of a compact concentration of Jews both in town and country. The prime source of present-day assimilation consists in the fact that the Jews constitute a minority in all the lands of their dispersion: they are thus subjected to influences stronger than themselves and are easily and inevitably adapted, in the course of time, to the predominant type. Such a possibility must be eliminated from the land in which Jews are to develop a national life, and hence they must constitute the majority there. This condition is impracticable at the outset in utterly uninhabited countries, but it must be striven after zealously and systematically if Jewish national life is to become a reality. For with a majority in the towns and in the country places the Jews will not only form the dominating social element and impress their own characteristics upon the environment, they will not only provide the Jewish milieu in which alone works of art reflecting the Jewish genius can come into being, and in which the laws and customs of their faith can be observed unhindered, but they will also automatically have the administration of these localities in their own hands, and thus secure for themselves freedom of development in every direction.

Which is the land that can fulfil all these conditions? The East European region, which has been the home of millions of Jews, has itself been suggested as the best nucleus of a Jewish national centre, because it already has a Jewish language and has preserved intact a traditional Jewish culture. But the

objections to such a plan are that the political conditions in that region, including Soviet Russia (where such a scheme was mooted), are manifestly unstable; that the culture of such a centre would be subject to the influences of Slavonic or Teutonic culture; and, what is most important of all, that Jews in other parts of the world would never acknowledge allegiance to such a centre, as it would have neither historical nor moral claim to recognition. A second proposal, formerly advanced, was that a colony should be established in some uninhabited part of the world, where the Jews from the outset should be given local autonomy. This was the principle of the Jewish Territorial Organization, founded by the late Israel Zangwill during the days of the Zionist Congress of 1905, which declined the British Government's offer of a territory in East Africa. The Territorial Organization conducted negotiations with various Governments and carried out a scientific exploration of Cyrenaica, which was found unfit for settlement on account of deficient water, and also of Angola, as to the fitness of which the members of the scientific commission themselves differed. The "ITO" (as the Jewish Territorial Organization, from its initials, was commonly called), although formed to obtain an immediate asylum for the Jews owing to the slow progress of settlement in Palestine at the time, never succeeded in establishing a colony of its own; nor, if one had been founded, could it have produced a truly national Jewish culture, as it would have been populated, according to all reasonable calculations, solely by East European Jews of the proletarian class, who might have contrived with external aid to carry on a comfortable community, but who, by reason of the concessions they would have had to make in their dealings with the outside world, could not have fostered a language of their own or created a literature worthy of the name.

The only territory upon which all the specified conditions of a successful national settlement can be fulfilled is the land advocated by Zionism—Palestine. Here a self-contained economic life with an agricultural basis can be established; here Hebrew can be fostered as the national language and Jewish schools can be built; and here the Jews can live in a compact mass in the various towns and rural settlements. But, above and beyond all these advantages, Palestine is the land where the Jewish nation grew up, where its Prophets spoke and its Psalmists sang, where its traditions were born, its sacred literature was written, its ethical ideals were developed,





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its spiritual treasures were fashioned : the land to which the heart of the Jew was turned throughout the long centuries of suffering in exile. What is more natural than that the land of the Jewish past should be made the land of the Jewish future ?

## CHAPTER II

### ZIONISM

The aims of Zionism—Precursors of Zionism—The founding of the Zionist Organization—The Herzlian period—Transference of political centre of gravity to England—The Balfour Declaration: its interpretation—Representations to the Peace Conference—The Palestine Mandate—British statement of policy—The establishment of the Jewish National Home—Immigration, agricultural colonization, industrial developments—Social welfare and cultural activities—Palestinian citizenship—Organization of Jewish Community—Relations with Arabs—The rate of progress—Extension of the Jewish Agency—Influence on Jewish life—The survival of Jewry.

**Z**IONISM is the name of the movement which aims at the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine. It is based upon the conviction that the Jews are a nation, that they can best fulfil their destiny by reviving their corporate life upon a national basis in their ancestral country, and that only by this means can they preserve Jewry from the forces of disintegration to which it is now exposed and secure its permanent and progressive development. It represents the first organized endeavour of the Jewish people since its banishment from Palestine nearly two thousand years ago to put an end to its alternating lot of oppression, tolerance, or fatal drift, by acquiring the status and dignity of a nation in the land in which its national life first came into being. Its adherents are spread throughout the globe, in the lands of absolute freedom as in those of chronic oppression: and they are knit together in a democratic organization which at periodical Congresses shapes the policy and determines the practical measures of the movement. But whilst it receives its impetus from the present, it draws its inspiration from the past, for Zionism represents in modern form the traditional love of Zion which animated the Jew throughout the centuries, the hope in the ingathering of Israel in the Holy Land which soothed the sufferings of exile. For nearly two thousand years the sentiment found expression merely in a religious form—in prayers and pilgrimages—whilst ever and again, in the gloom of the Middle Ages, it was fanned into flame by a false Messiah

who heralded the return to Zion and then abandoned his deluded followers to despair. Not until the nineteenth century was any energetic desire evinced to convert the prayer into practice, the idea into a reality. Formerly the Jews went to Palestine to die : now they go there to live.

The advocacy of the colonization of Palestine as the only solution of the Jewish question was made as early as 1818 by Mordecai Manuel Noah in America, and was repeated in different countries at intervals throughout the century. In France it was urged in 1830 by the historian, Joseph Salvador ; in Germany, in 1862, independently by Moses Hess in his *Rome and Jerusalem* and by Hirsch Kalischer in his *Drishath Zion* ("Quest of Zion"), the one a Socialist, the other an orthodox Rabbi ; in England, in 1876, by George Eliot in her famous novel *Daniel Deronda* ; and in Russia, in 1880, by the Hebrew writers Moses Lilienblum and Perez Smolenskin, and soon after by Leon Pinsker too, who, in his historic pamphlet *Auto-Emancipation*, eloquently argued that the settlement of the Jews in a land of their own was the only salvation from their sufferings, though he did not specifically propose Palestine for the purpose. The interest in the idea that had been aroused in the 'sixties soon bore fruit, for the work of colonization was actually begun in 1870 by the establishment, by the "Alliance Israélite," of an agricultural school at Mikveh Israel ("The Hope of Israel"). In the following decade the Society of "Lovers of Zion" ("Choveve Zion") was founded, in 1884, by a Jewish Conference at Kattowitz, to promote the Jewish resettlement upon a more extensive scale, and affiliated societies sprang up in various parts of Europe. The work of colonization, however, lagged at the beginning, partly owing to the early settlers being endowed only with zeal, but with little practical knowledge, and partly owing to the obstacles inevitably associated with pioneer settlement ; and it was not until Baron Edmond de Rothschild came to its aid with his munificent generosity that it made any appreciable progress. The "Lovers of Zion" were animated, it is true, by the national sentiment, but the general character of their activity was a blend of philanthropy and religious piety, whilst the aid contributed by Western Jews was also prompted by charitable motives tinged with the racial consciousness. Not until the advent in 1896 of Theodor Herzl, an Austrian playwright and man of letters, was the Jewish national sentiment propounded as an idea whose expression should not limit itself to the creation of scattered colonies in the Holy Land, but should expand

into an organized endeavour of the Jewish people to work for its national regeneration. Hitherto the national idea had meant that Western Jews helped Eastern Jews to settle in Palestine ; henceforth it was to mean that Western Jews were to work together with their Eastern brethren for the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine, in which not a section of the people but the whole people should be represented. The religious-philanthropic movement became a national-political movement : *Choveve Zionism* made way for Political Zionism.

Herzl promulgated his first ideas on the renationalization of the Jews in a pamphlet, *The Jewish State*, in which he advocated the creation of an autonomous Jewish settlement as the solution of the Jewish question. His scheme, which immediately formed the subject of discussion throughout the world, encountered bitter opposition in Western Europe and America, not merely on the part of influential laymen, but also on the part of a large majority of the Rabbis. The former declared that Herzl's ideas were subversive of local patriotism, a point that never occurred to Christians themselves ; the latter banned his scheme as a violation of the "Mission of Israel" and a contradiction of the Messianic doctrine. But despite relentless and powerful opposition, Herzl succeeded in convening a Congress for the purpose of considering his project. It was opened at Basle on August 27, 1897, and was attended by 206 delegates from all parts of the world. After much discussion the Congress adopted as its programme : "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a Home in Palestine secured by public law," and formulated the following means for the attainment of this end : the promotion of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers, the organization of Jewry through local and general associations, the strengthening of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness, and preparatory steps towards obtaining the Government consent necessary to the achievement of the aim of Zionism.<sup>1</sup> The Congress also laid the foundations of a world-wide Organization, consisting of federations and countless local societies, which undertook systematic propaganda with a view to winning the sympathy and support of Jewry. Herzl was opposed to any surreptitious infiltration into Palestine. The objective that he set himself was to secure a charter from the Sultan of Turkey for a large Jewish settlement, and as a financial instrument for this purpose he founded a bank, the

<sup>1</sup> This programme, owing to the city in which it was adopted, is known as the Basle Programme.

Jewish Colonial Trust, in which shares were taken by Jews in all parts of the world. Herzl had several audiences of Sultan Abdul Hamid, who made a profession of goodwill but without manifesting it in any practical form, and as the prospect of obtaining a charter for Palestine gradually receded his attention was directed to other regions where a Jewish homeland might be created. He received two offers of land from the British Government, one in the Sinai Peninsula (1902) and the other in British East Africa (1903), the latter accompanied by the promise of autonomy under a Jewish governor, but a careful examination of these territories showed that they were unsuitable for a large Jewish settlement, and it was therefore impossible for the Zionist Organization to avail itself of them.

Herzl died in 1904 without having achieved his object, for a period of seven or eight years was altogether too brief a span for so colossal a task, in which both the indifference of influential sections of the Jewish people and the deep-seated opposition of a suspicious despot had to be overcome. His death was followed by an internal struggle within the Zionist movement between those who argued that it should continue to devote itself to political propaganda and negotiation until formal permission for a Jewish settlement in Palestine was secured, and those who argued that no time should be lost in beginning practical work in the country, even if only on a small scale. In the midst of the conflict occurred the Turkish Revolution, which swept Abdul Hamid off his throne and inaugurated a constitutional Government. The demand for a charter was now withdrawn: at the Zionist Congress of 1909, the President, Dr. Max Nordau (who had from the very beginning played a powerful part in furthering the national movement), officially declared that the charter idea was definitely relegated to the archives of the movement. Henceforth the method pursued by the Zionist Organization was to convince the Ottoman Government of the loyalty of its aims and the utility of its labours, by its activity in promoting the economic and intellectual development of Palestine, an undertaking that should have commended itself to the Government in view of the extensive losses in territory in Europe that it had sustained through the Balkan Wars and the necessity of improving Turkey's dominions in Asia. The Zionists were allowed to embark upon a programme of urban and agricultural colonization and educational activity, but owing to the small resources at their disposal they were unable to achieve any

substantial progress up to the time when their efforts were suddenly interrupted by the Great War.

For a short time, owing to the rupture of the world into two warring camps, Zionism was at a standstill and the future of Palestine was wrapped in obscurity. But the leaders, who happened to be in England, Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Mr. Nahum Sokolow (who were joined by Dr. E. W. Tschlenow, from Russia), soon began to take stock of the situation and resolved to do their utmost to ensure that as part of the general settlement that would be made at the conclusion of hostilities satisfaction should at length be rendered to the age-long yearnings of the Jewish people. The Zionist leaders entered into relations with members of the British Government, particularly Lord (then Mr.) Balfour, who had previously evinced sympathy with their cause, for the purpose of obtaining the issue of a statement favourable to Zionist aspirations. The conversations, which lasted over several months, were inspired by the hope that the Allied Powers would prove the victors and have the decisive voice in determining the fate of Palestine. As early as October, 1916, a document setting forth the aims of Zionism and outlining the specific means to be adopted for their realization was drawn up by the leaders and their advisers for submission to the Cabinet, but the latter was indisposed to subscribe to anything but a broad general statement of policy. Accordingly the Zionist Organization, in July, 1917, submitted a formula embodying "the principle of recognizing Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people" and postulating "as essential for the realization of this principle the grant of internal autonomy to the Jewish nationality in Palestine, freedom of immigration for Jews, and the establishment of a Jewish National Colonizing Corporation for the resettlement and economic development of the country."<sup>1</sup> The Cabinet, which had received representations antagonistic to Zionism from certain prominent English Jews, was unable to accept this formula and prepared a draft of its own in which it used the expression "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The Zionist leaders urged, as being more in consonance with the traditional hope of Israel, the phrase: "the reconstitution of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people," but to no effect. At last, on November 2nd, 1917, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, addressed a letter to Lord Rothschild,

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of the Executive of the Zionist Organization to the XII Zionist Congress: I, Political Report*. London, 1921.



conveying the following declaration, which had been approved by the Cabinet :

“ His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

The British Government, in promulgating this historic statement, henceforth known as the Balfour Declaration, was animated by a combination of material and ideal considerations: whilst genuinely willing to help the Jews to achieve their national aspirations and to exercise that self-determination which was emblazoned on the banners of the Allies as the right of the small nations, it could not but take into account the effect which such a Declaration must produce upon the Jews in other countries, especially America, whose sympathy at a critical stage in the War was of such considerable value. The Balfour Declaration was hailed by Jews throughout the world with a joyous and almost frenzied enthusiasm as though it betokened the imminent end of their exile and the veritable fulfilment of Biblical prophecies. It was read during the Sabbath service in countless synagogues and formed the text of many a perfervid sermon. Its terms were rich in splendid promise, which was in no wise dimmed by the qualifying clauses. The expression “ National Home ” was unknown in political terminology, but it had been taken from the Basle Programme and therefore needed no definition. The two provisos were designed to silence objections in two possible quarters—among the Arabs in Palestine who might fear a curtailment of their rights, and among the Jews outside Palestine who might be apprehensive concerning their own political status in the future. The proviso in regard to the Jews seemed to imply that the National Home would be invested with specific political rights of its own, for it was argued that if it were merely intended that Jews should settle in Palestine on the same footing as immigrants of any other nation such a proviso was unnecessary. And, indeed, this interpretation received support from more than one authoritative source. At the great Jewish demonstration held on December 2, 1917, at the London Opera House, for the purpose of thanking the British Govern-

ment for its Declaration, Viscount (then Lord Robert) Cecil, a member of the Cabinet, said: "Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs; Armenia for the Armenians, and Judæa for the Jews," and Sir Herbert Samuel, who had been a member of the Cabinet until 1916, and had actively co-operated in securing the Declaration, said: "There must be no attempt now or in the future to establish anything in the nature of political authority from Palestine over the Jews scattered in other countries of the world, who must probably always remain the great majority of the Jewish race." Obviously there was no need to sound such a warning if it had not then been contemplated that the National Home should partake in some form or other, within a measurable period, of a Jewish State.<sup>1</sup> But the glowing visions that were then indulged in were gradually dissipated in the course of time.

The first step in the direction of translating the promise of the Declaration into performance was taken a few months later by the despatch of a Zionist Commission from England, under the leadership of Dr. Weizmann, to Palestine, the southern half of which had already been redeemed by General Allenby's army, in which Jewish battalions played a valiant part. The principal objects of the Commission were to act as the medium between the British authorities and the Jewish population of Palestine, to organize and administer the relief work, to assist in restoring the Jewish colonies, and to help the Jewish organizations and institutions to resume their former activities. Its most notable achievement—even though at the time it had only a symbolic value—was the laying of the foundation stones of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which took place on July 24, 1918. The next important step, when the War was over, was the formal submission to the Peace Conference in Paris of the Zionist demands. These were set forth in detail in a statement, dated February 3, 1919, which, among a series of proposals, requested that "the historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine and the right of the Jews

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most definite interpretation was that given by the *Manchester Guardian*, which had distinguished itself by its staunch and systematic support of the Zionist cause: "What it means is that, assuming our military successes to be continued and the whole of Palestine to be brought securely under our control, then on the conclusion of peace our deliberate policy will be to encourage in every way in our power Jewish immigration, to give full security, and no doubt a large measure of local autonomy, to the Jewish immigrants, with a view to the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State." Similarly, the *Spectator* wrote of "a little Jewish State in Palestine," and the *Observer* said: "It is no idle dream which anticipates that by the close of another generation the new Zion may become a State."

to reconstitute in Palestine their National Home " be recognized, that the sovereignty of the country be vested in the League of Nations and the government entrusted to Great Britain as Mandatory of the League, and that " Palestine shall be placed under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment there of the Jewish National Home, and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous Commonwealth." This statement, which was signed not only by Mr. Nahum Sokolow and Dr. Weizmann as the heads of the Zionist Organization, but also by representatives of the Zionists of America and Russia, as well as of the Jewish population of Palestine, was reinforced by the speeches made by the Zionist leaders on February 27 before the Peace Conference, at which Lord Balfour and Lord Milner were the British representatives. But Palestine was only one of a multitude of questions with which the victorious Powers had to deal, and hence it was not until April 24, 1920, that the Mandate for Palestine was conferred by the Conference at San Remo upon Great Britain. The text of the Mandate was still in a state of evolution, but Great Britain's assumption of the trusteeship of Palestine enabled her to terminate the military administration, which had proved unsympathetic to the avowed aim of British policy, and to appoint a High Commissioner to inaugurate a civil administration. This honour was bestowed upon Sir Herbert Samuel, who landed in Palestine from a British warship on July 1, 1920.

Owing to various political difficulties, it was not until July 24, 1922, that the Mandate was confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations. Its contents had formed the subject of considerable discussion between the British Government and the Zionist Organization for three years, during which various drafts were made, amended, and redrafted. In its final form, the Mandate, in a preamble, embodies the terms of the Balfour Declaration and states that " recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country." The body of the Mandate consists of twenty-eight Articles, of which the most important bearing upon the establishment of the Jewish National Home may be summarized as follows :

Palestine is to be placed under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the development of self-

governing institutions. The Zionist Organization is to be recognized as a Jewish Agency for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration in matters affecting the Jewish National Home, and is to take steps to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in its establishment. Jewish immigration under suitable conditions is to be facilitated, and close settlement by Jews on the land, "including State lands and waste lands," is to be encouraged. There is to be a nationality law including provisions to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who settle permanently in the country. The Administration may arrange with the Jewish Agency to construct or operate any public works and to develop any natural resources of the country, the profits to be distributed by such Agency not to exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital. English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine; and the holy days of the respective Communities shall be recognized as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

Detailed and comprehensive though it is, the Mandate contains no definition of the Jewish National Home, the very term about which Jewish minds were so much exercised and Arab minds so much agitated. Ever since the issue of the Balfour Declaration all sorts of interpretations were placed upon it. When Dr. Weizmann was asked at the Peace Conference in Paris, in 1919, by Mr. Lansing, the American representative, what he meant by the Jewish National Home, he replied that "there should ultimately be such conditions that Palestine should be just as Jewish as America is American and England is English."<sup>1</sup> The Arabs repeatedly protested against such a definition, they clamoured for the withdrawal of the Balfour Declaration, they organized anti-Jewish riots in Palestine, and sent delegations to London and Geneva. In order to placate them the British Government, almost on the eve of the final approval of the Mandate, issued a statement of policy<sup>2</sup> in which it provided an official definition:

When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Executive of the Zionist Organization to the XII Zionist Congress: I, Political Report*, p. 22. London, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Command Paper 1700 (1922), "Correspondence with the Palestine Arab Delegation and the Zionist Organization," p. 19.

community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connexion.

This definition was far removed from Viscount Cecil's "Judæa for the Jews" and from all the other early glosses on the Balfour Declaration. Nevertheless, the Zionist Organization was requested by the Government to declare that "it accepted the policy as set forth in the Statement, and was prepared to conduct its own activities in conformity therewith," and it gave the required assurance. But though this policy has been loyally observed, the ideal of Zionism, rooted as it is in history and in the soul of a long-suffering people, remains unchanged.

Neither by the terms of the Balfour Declaration nor by those of the Mandate is Great Britain obliged to establish the Jewish National Home. All that she undertook was "to facilitate the achievement of this object." The actual achievement must be the work of the Jewish people and it is this task which the Zionist Organization is pursuing with unflagging energy and devotion, and with the material aid provided by sympathizers and supporters in all parts of the world. It is less than ten years (for its pre-War activity was essentially of a preparatory nature) since it has been engaged in this tremendous undertaking, but already within this brief span, and despite the comparatively moderate resources at its disposal, it has brought about a complete transformation in the conditions of Palestine. It has succeeded in laying the foundations of the National Home, even if the Home itself may not yet be said to have been established.

The Jewish population of Palestine has been trebled since the beginning of the British administration. Reduced to about 55,000 during the War by deportations, disease and famine, it has since grown to nearly 160,000, largely through the influx of new settlers, and to a smaller extent through natural increase. The immigrants have been drawn from all parts of the world, mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, but also from

lands as varied and as remote from one another as Siberia and South Africa, Argentina and Persia, England and the United States. They are mostly young and robust, both men and women, all animated by a fervid enthusiasm, and a good proportion consisting of students who broke off their academic career to assume the more laborious toil of rebuilding their ancestral home. They were all examined at home as to their physical fitness and capacity before receiving immigration permits—for there were hundreds of thousands clamouring for such permits—and many of them, especially those from Russia, underwent the severest privations on the way. Popularly styled *Haluzim*, or pioneers, they have indeed performed all manner of pioneering work—breaking stones, making roads and railways, building bridges, erecting houses and factories, weeding the soil, draining marshes, reforesting the bared hills, boring wells, installing telegraph and telephone connexions, and attending to every other initial requisite in the development of a long-neglected country.

This pioneering work has been carried out most extensively on the land, where, with the funds supplied by the Zionist Organization,<sup>1</sup> sixty agricultural settlements have been established, containing a total population, so far, of 7500. These rural villages are distributed throughout all parts of the country, the majority being situated in the Vale of Jezreel, and stretching almost continuously from Haifa to near Beisan. The land upon which they have been created has all had to be bought by the Jewish National Fund (the land-purchasing agency of the Zionist Organization), for the provision of the Mandate that Jews are to be settled upon State and waste lands has so far remained a dead letter.<sup>2</sup> The two main types of settlement are the smallholders' settlement (*moshav ovdim*), in which the individual settler farms his own holding (though there is a great deal of co-operative purchasing and marketing), and the *Kevutzah* or co-operative group, in which the land is held and farmed by the group as a whole. Which of these two is likely to prove the more efficient is still a subject of controversy,

<sup>1</sup> The two principal money-collecting agencies of the Zionist Organization are the Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*) and the Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemeth le-Israel*), which raise an average of about £500,000 and £250,000 a year respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Out of a total area of 1,050,000 dunams (one dunam =  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre) in Jewish possession the Jewish National Fund owns 250,000 dunams and the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (Baron Edmond de Rothschild's foundation) 400,000 dunams. The total exploitable land surface of Palestine is 14 million dunams, of which about 11 million dunams are considered as cultivable. (*Report of Joint Palestine Survey Commission*, London, 1928).

though all indications seem to point in favour of the individualist method. They have both one feature in common, however, namely, the exclusion of hired labour, for (unlike the system prevailing in the pre-War colonies) all work must be done by the settler and his family. The kinds of farming practised are fruit-growing, cereal cultivation, dairying, vegetable, and tobacco-planting. The methods are in accordance with the most advanced scientific principles, and the farmers have the benefit of guidance from the Agricultural Experiment Station at Tel-Aviv, which has been pronounced by experts to be one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world.

The Zionist colonization of Palestine is not confined to immigration and agricultural settlement but embraces all branches of social, economic, and intellectual activity essential to the Jewish National Home. New residential quarters, with every modern amenity, have been built in the suburbs of Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tiberias, whilst the Jewish township of Tel-Aviv, which had only 2000 inhabitants in 1914, now boasts of 40,000—the most Jewish town in the world. Factories, mills, and workshops have sprung up over all the country, comprising numerous industries, such as textiles, leather, building materials (especially cement and bricks), timber, chemicals, paper, metals, and foodstuffs. A census of Jewish industries carried out in 1926 showed that there were 584 factories, in which the total capital invested was £1,850,000. Industrial development has been greatly furthered by the electrification scheme of Mr. Pinhas Rutenberg, which is being carried out by the Palestine Electric Corporation.<sup>1</sup> Power-stations have been erected at Jaffa, Haifa, and Tiberias, a hydro-electric power-station (24,000 h.p.) is being constructed near the junction of the Jordan and the Yarmuk, and two further hydro-electric power houses are to be established on the north and south shores of Lake Tiberias. The promotion of commerce is facilitated by the credits supplied by the Anglo-Palestine Company, the General Mortgage Bank, and the Central Bank of Co-operative Institutions, as well as by a number of other Jewish and non-Jewish financial institutions, though there is still much room for the extension of credit facilities. A considerable impetus to the commercial and industrial development of the country will be provided by the forthcoming construction of a harbour at Haifa and by the exploitation of the vast mineral deposits of the Dead Sea.

<sup>1</sup> This Company, of which the Marquis of Reading is Chairman, has a capital of £900,000.

In the domain of social welfare and cultural work there has been much progress in various directions. The primitive hygienic conditions of pre-War days have been swept away by the "Hadassah" Medical Organization (the creation of American women Zionists), which conducts a complete medical service, comprising hospitals and clinics, and looks after school-children and immigrants with equal efficiency. There are a number of infant welfare centres, and the incidence of trachoma at Jewish schools has been reduced from 40 to 10 per cent. The Zionist educational organization, with over 222 schools of all grades and nearly 20,000 pupils, embraces 80 per cent of all the Jewish schools and 70 per cent of the Jewish school-children. Even before the War Hebrew had triumphed as the language of instruction at a number of Jewish schools, and thanks to Zionist influence it has not only secured acceptance as such at practically all the Jewish educational institutions in the country, but it has become the language of ordinary intercourse in Jewish life. The development of the ancient tongue and its adaptation to meet all the requirements of modern thought and scientific progress is not the least among the marvels of the Jewish national revival. Technical training of an advanced character is provided at the Haifa Technical Institute, whilst the crowning feature of the edifice of Jewish education consists of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which was inaugurated at an impressively picturesque ceremony on Mount Scopus, in 1925, by the Earl of Balfour. The University—the realization of a forty-year-old dream—comprises not only the principal scientific departments of such an establishment but also institutes of Jewish studies and Oriental studies, and a National and University Library containing nearly 200,000 volumes. Its staff is recruited from distinguished scholars in the Diaspora, whose work hitherto has enhanced the prestige only of their particular country, whilst henceforth they will be able to render a specific Jewish contribution to human progress and likewise advance the fame of Jewish culture. Nor is it only by means of educational and academic institutions that Jewish culture is fostered. The muses are also cultivated with zest. Hebrew drama and opera are regular features of social life; there are concerts galore, sometimes held in an open-air theatre, and occasionally graced by the visit of a famous Jewish musician; and there is an abundance of artists, painters, and sculptors who have begun to give expression to the inspiration derived from the new Judæa and to find their way to a Jewish art. There is, moreover, a pro-





INAUGURATION OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM BY THE EARL OF BALFOUR



lific activity on the part of Hebrew publishers with a plethora of periodicals and newspapers.

The forms of Jewish national life are mainly the outcome of individual and communal activity, the result of natural creative forces ; but to some extent they are also determined by the laws of the country. Although the Jews have been assured by the Mandatory Power that they are in Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance," only those are admitted who comply with the regulations enacted by the Palestine Administration, which are strictly applied in the economic interests of the country as a whole. Those who are desirous of exercising full political rights must acquire Palestinian citizenship, which demands two years' continuous residence and which affords the common ground on which the Jews and Arabs can participate alike in the upbuilding of the country. The land is governed by the High Commissioner and his Executive Council of officials, on which the Jewish community is in no way represented, but there are regular official relations between the Government and the Executive of the Zionist Organization by virtue of the latter's recognition in the Mandate as the Jewish Agency for advising and co-operating with the Government. The Jewish community has been organized on a statutory basis ; its representative organs are a Rabbinical Council, an Elected Assembly, and a National General Council (*Vaad Leumi*) ; and it has the power to administer its internal affairs and to levy rates on members for the purposes of public worship, education, poor relief, and the care of the sick.

The relations between the Jews and Arabs have passed through various phases of development. Originally hostile to any form of Jewish immigration, owing to exaggerated and unfounded fears respecting the powers and intentions of the Jewish settlers, the Arabs, as a whole, having benefited extensively from the influx of Jewish capital, industry, and brains, have largely become reconciled to the idea of the Jewish National Home. Finding that the value of their land has increased, that they can profit by the improved agricultural methods and medical service of the Jews, and that they have not been despoiled of any of their rights or possessions, they have, for the most part, ceased to clamour for the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration. There are numerous instances in the towns of friendly co-operation between Jews and Arabs in commercial and industrial undertakings, and there is frequent fraternizing between them in the country. But the Moslem political leaders, who are concerned above all to maintain their

own prestige, without regard to the interests of the country or to international obligations, revive their mischievous agitation from time to time. The inviolability of the Moslem holy places is specifically safeguarded by the Mandate, so that the most delicate ground on which a conflict might otherwise arise is scrupulously protected: nevertheless false alarms are raised concerning their violation in order to arouse prejudice against the Jews.

The driving and directing force in the development of the Jewish National Home is the Zionist Organization, but it is not the sole agency that is working towards this end. There are other and smaller organizations that are participating in the work, and there are many Jews with means who have settled in Palestine on their own account and are engaged in private enterprise. The measure of progress that has been attained so far has been conditioned by the amount of money brought into the country, which has been estimated at £10,000,000. The Jewish population might have been much larger had no restriction been exercised by the Administration, and the proportion settled upon the land—30,000 out of a total of 160,000—would certainly have been greater had the Zionist Organization had more means at its disposal and had the Government, in fulfilment of Article 6 of the Mandate, provided the State and waste lands for close settlement. The financial aid furnished by the Government, which receives a disproportionately large share of its revenue from the Jewish population, has so far been practically confined to the support of the Jewish schools, towards which it now contributes about £20,000 a year (although the expenditure on the Zionist schools alone amounts to over £150,000 a year). Nor has its assistance in spheres other than the financial been offered as readily and generously as the Jewish people, according to the terms of the Mandate, has a right to expect. The only prospect there is of increasing the resources available for the development of a Jewish Palestine is by extending the basis of Jewish support throughout the world. The efforts in this direction are taking the form of enlarging the Jewish Agency—the position at present held by the Zionist Organization alone—by securing the active co-operation of non-Zionist representatives of the principal Jewish communities, a movement that is gradually approaching consummation.

But despite all the obstacles and trials that it has had to encounter, the Jewish National Home has already attained a sufficient degree of development to produce a powerful

impact upon the ramifications of Jewish life. It has exercised a stimulating influence upon most of the far-flung communities of Israel, the like of which is unknown in Jewish history, operating in different ways according to local conditions—by rousing the national consciousness, quickening a love for Jewish literature and Hebrew speech, enkindling esteem for traditional ideals, evoking the spirit of Jewish self-respect, and manifesting itself not only in the multiplication of Zionist societies<sup>1</sup> but also in the advancement of the Zionist outlook in all cultural and communal affairs. Its influence is exercised not through the mere numbers who are already settled in their ancestral land, but through the idea that Judaism, which exists in so many varied forms in the Diaspora, attenuated in some countries and encrusted with dubious accretions in others, possesses at last the opportunity of living and growing naturally on its native soil. There has been an organized Jewish colonization in the Argentine and there is now one in the Crimea, but both movements were prompted solely by philanthropic motives and their benefit—such as it may be—is confined solely to those settled in those countries. But the colonization of Palestine, inspired by a national purpose, hallowed by religious tradition, and directed towards an ideal end, will extend its beneficent influence throughout the dispersion, acting as a bulwark even to some distant community thousands of miles away that might otherwise be exposed to the corroding forces of its environment. By the subtle links that are slowly forged between such a community and the new Judæa will its members be preserved from absorption—by their personal share in the labours of the Renaissance, by periodical pilgrimages to its principal centres, by studying its intellectual products and furthering its welfare in thought and deed.

The new Judæa cannot contain the whole of Jewry, nor will most of the Jews of the West be willing to exchange the comforts and amenities of their homes for the comparative simplicity of the Land of Israel; but upon the success of its development will depend the survival of the Jewry beyond its borders. For in the face of the countless forces of assimilation to which modern Jewry is increasingly exposed, nothing can save it from slow and sure dissolution but the spiritual invigora-

<sup>1</sup> In addition to Federations organized on a territorial or country-wide basis and existing in 50 countries, the Zionist Organization also comprises the following parties: *Mizrachi* (*lit.*, Eastern), Orthodox; *Hitachduth* (*lit.*, Union), Labour; *Poale Zion*, Socialist; and Radicals and Revisionists, who stand for a more forward policy in the political sphere and oppose the extension of the Jewish Agency.

tion that it can receive from a national settlement. The sooner it realizes this pregnant truth, and the sooner it applies it by a continuous extension of practical and liberal co-operation, the larger and the more creative will be the potentialities of the Jewish National Home ; and then perchance the dream that was dreamed throughout the centuries of exile and that seemed, in the first glow of imagination fired by the Balfour Declaration, suddenly to take visible shape, may yet become a concrete and glorious reality.

## APPENDIX I

### STATISTICS OF THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION

ANY estimate of the number of Jews in the world, no matter how thorough the preceding investigation or how careful the compilation, cannot yield any but an approximate result, owing to a variety of important factors. As already explained in the chapter on "Dispersion and Distribution," only in a comparatively few countries does the Government census take note of differences of religion and ethnical nationality, so that in the case of other countries we have to content ourselves with estimates made either by the Government authorities or the local Jewish communities. These estimates are often conveniently based upon membership of religious congregations and leave out of account those Jews who have no religious affiliation with the community. Other factors responsible for the difficulty of attaining correct results consist in the varying period at which a census is taken or estimate made in different countries, and in the ceaseless migrations of the Jewish people. Nevertheless, the degree of inaccuracy that is thus inevitable may be fairly regarded as negligible in relation to the aggregate.

In the following tables use has been made of official and authoritative sources, wherever available. The estimates are marked by an asterisk attached to the year, and have in every case been carefully based upon the latest data : some of them (as in the case of Persia, Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, and a few others) have been kindly furnished by local correspondents.

## EUROPE

Country.	Year of Census (or Estimate*).	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percent- age of Total Popula- tion.
Poland . . .	1921	2,845,364 <sup>1</sup>	27,176,717	10.5
Russia . . .	1927	2,600,945	134,862,173	2.8
Rumania . . .	1927*	900,000	17,393,149	4.8
Germany . . .	1925	564,379 <sup>2</sup>	63,180,619	0.8
Hungary . . .	1926	477,431	7,980,144	5.6
Czecho-Slovakia . . .	1921	354,342	14,356,600	2.46
Great Britain and Ireland } . . .	1928*	310,000 <sup>3</sup>	44,313,642	0.7
Austria . . .	1927*	230,000	6,534,481	3.5
France . . .	1926*	200,000	40,743,851	0.4
Lithuania . . .	1928*	160,000	2,203,312	7.6
Holland . . .	1928*	150,000	6,865,314	2.18
Latvia . . .	1925*	100,000	1,844,805	5.4
Turkey . . .	1927*	100,000	1,203,151	8.3
Yugoslavia . . .	1925*	80,000	12,017,323	0.6
Greece . . .	1928	75,000	6,204,894	1.2
Belgium . . .	1925*	60,000	7,465,782	0.8
Italy . . .	1927*	50,000	40,423,000	0.12
Bulgaria . . .	1926	43,209	5,483,125	0.78
Switzerland . . .	1927*	24,000	3,959,000	0.6
Dantzic . . .	1924	9,239	383,995	2.4
Sweden . . .	1926	6,469	6,074,368	0.16
Denmark . . .	1921	5,947	3,434,555	0.17
Estonia . . .	1922	4,800	1,117,270	0.4
Spain . . .	1928*	4,500	21,347,335	0.02
Luxembourg . . .	1928	1,800	280,000	0.64
Finland . . .	1926	1,715	3,558,059	0.04
Portugal . . .	1920*	1,500	6,032,991	0.02
Norway . . .	1927*	1,500	2,788,893	0.05
Gibraltar . . .	1921*	1,400	17,160	8.1
Malta . . .	1926*	50	227,440	0.02
Total . . .	—	9,363,590	—	—

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish population of Poland is now commonly estimated at 3 millions.

<sup>2</sup> For the causes accounting for the comparative decline of the Jewish population of Germany see the articles in the *Ose-Rundschau* (Berlin) by J. Coralnik, March, 1928; Dr. A. Czellitzer, May, 1928; Dr. F. A. Theilhaber, Nov., 1928, and J. Coralnik, Jan., 1929.

<sup>3</sup> Estimate of *Jewish Year-Book*, 1929.



## ASIA

Country.	Year of Census (or Estimate*).	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percent- age of Total Popula- tion.
Russia . . .	1920	170,813	12,151,436	1·4
Palestine . . .	1928*	160,000 <sup>1</sup>	870,000	18·3
Iraq . . .	1926*	90,000	2,849,282	3·1
Persia . . .	1928*	60,000 <sup>2</sup>	10,000,000	0·6
Turkey . . .	1927*	70,000	12,446,794	0·5
Syria . . .	1926*	35,000	2,046,857	1·7
Arabia . . .	1920*	25,000	5,000,000	0·5
India . . .	1925*	22,500	318,942,480	0·006
China . . .	1925*	15,000	485,500,000	
Afghanistan . . .	1928*	5,000	8,000,000	0·06
Aden . . .	1928*	4,000	54,923	7·3
Dutch East Indies . . .	1925*	2,000	51,013,878	
Indo-China . . .	1927*	1,000	19,999,423	
Straits Settlements	1926*	700	1,003,754	
Philippines . . .	1926*	600	11,568,994	
Japan . . .	1926*	500	63,006,595	
Cyprus . . .	1921*	180	310,709	0·5
Total . . .	—	662,293	—	—

## AFRICA

French Morocco . . .	1924	125,981 <sup>2</sup>	4,410,897	2·9
Spanish Morocco . . .	1924	24,500 <sup>3</sup>	550,000	4·4
Tangier Zone . . .	1924	10,000 <sup>3</sup>	60,000	16·6
Algeria . . .	1927*	85,000	6,064,865	1·4
Tunis . . .	1927*	65,000	2,059,708	3·1
Egypt . . .	1927*	65,000	14,168,756	0·45
Union of South Africa } . . .	1921	62,103	6,928,580	0·89 <sup>4</sup>
Abyssinia . . .	1927*	50,000 <sup>5</sup>	10,000,000	0·5
Tripolitania . . .	1921*	40,000	550,000	7·2
Belgian Congo . . .	1923*	180	8,510,037	
Kenya . . .	1927*	150	2,736,517	
Total . . .	—	527,914	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Estimate of the Palestine Zionist Executive.

<sup>2</sup> The careful estimate of a reliable correspondent in Teheran. The figure given in the *Statesman's Year-Book*, 40,000, is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the official census of March 6, 1921, and corrected to January 1, 1924.

<sup>4</sup> The Jews are 4·09 p.c. of the white population.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. J. Faitlovitch, *Quer durch Abessinien*, p. 173.

## AMERICA

Country.	Year of Census (or Estimate*).	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percent- age of Total Popula- tion.
United States	. 1927*	4,228,029 <sup>1</sup>	118,628,000	3.5
Canada . . .	. 1927*	140,000 <sup>2</sup>	9,519,220	1.43
Mexico . . .	. 1927*	15,000	14,334,780	0.10
Argentina . . .	. 1928*	200,000	10,348,189	1.93
Brazil . . .	. 1929*	34,000	36,870,972	0.09
Cuba . . .	. 1929*	10,000	2,889,004	0.34
Chile . . .	. 1929*	5,000	3,568,552	0.14
Uruguay . . .	. 1927*	2,000	1,564,620	0.12
Jamaica . . .	. 1921	1,250	858,188	0.14
Panama Canal Zone	1926*	750	22,858	3.2
Peru . . .	. 1928*	700	5,550,000	
Venezuela . . .	. 1928*	500	3,026,878	
British Guiana . .	. 1925*	1,786	297,691	0.6
Dutch Guiana :				
Curaçao . . .	. 1920	565	56,371	1.0
Surinam . . .	. 1923	818	133,561	0.6
West Indies (St. Domingo, Porto Rico, etc.) .	1928*	350	—	—
Total . . .	—	4,640,748	—	—

## AUSTRALASIA

Country.	Year of Census.	Jewish Population.	Total Population.	Jewish Percent- age of Total Popula- tion.
Australia . . .	. 1921	21,622	6,167,429	0.35
New Zealand . . .	. 1928	2,567	1,344,384	0.19
Total . . .	—	24,189	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Estimate of Dr. H. S. Linfield, Director of the Statistical Department of the American Jewish Committee (*American Jewish Year-Book*, 1928-29).

<sup>2</sup> According to the last census, in 1921, the Jewish population was 126,196. Owing to immigration and natural increase it is now at least 140,000.

## SUMMARY

Continent.	Jewish Population.	Per cent. of Total.
Europe . . .	9,363,590	61·52
America . . .	4,640,748	30·50
Asia . . .	662,293	4·35
Africa . . .	527,914	3·47
Australasia . .	24,189	0·16
Grand Total .	15,218,734	100·00

## THE THIRTY LARGEST JEWISH COMMUNITIES

	Jewish Population.	Per-centage of Total Population.
New York . . . .	1,765,000	29·56
Chicago . . . .	325,000	10·47
Warsaw . . . .	321,997	33·7
Philadelphia . . .	270,000	13·26
Budapest . . . .	215,512	23·2
Vienna . . . .	201,513	10·8
Odessa . . . .	190,135	44·4
Berlin . . . .	172,676	6·25
London . . . .	170,000	2·35
Lodz . . . .	155,860	34·5
Kiev . . . .	128,141	32·0
Paris . . . .	100,000	3·3
Buenos Ayres . . .	100,000	5·4
Boston . . . .	90,000	11·35
Moscow . . . .	86,171	5·7
Cleveland . . . .	85,000	8·63
Lemberg . . . .	76,854	35·0
Detroit . . . .	75,000	5·62
Ekaterinoslav . . .	72,928	44·7
Vilna . . . .	72,000	36·0
Baltimore . . . .	68,000	8·3
Minsk . . . .	67,599	44·3
Amsterdam . . . .	67,249	10·3
Newark . . . .	65,000	13·93
Los Angeles . . . .	65,000	5·0
Kharkoff . . . .	55,474	20·5
Pittsburgh . . . .	53,000	7·96
Leningrad . . . .	52,370	4·9
Bagdad . . . .	50,000	20·0
Kovno . . . .	50,000	25·0
St. Louis . . . .	50,000	5·96

SOME PREVIOUS ESTIMATES OF THE WORLD'S  
JEWISH POPULATION

Authority.	Date.	Estimated Number.
Balbi . . . .	1829	4,000,000
Jost . . . .	1846	3,143,000
Legoyt . . . .	1868	4,550,000
I. Loeb . . . .	1879	6,276,957
<i>Encyc. Brit.</i> . . . .	1881	6,200,000
A. Nossig . . . .	1887	6,582,500
J. Jacobs . . . .	1896	9,066,534
A. Ruppin . . . .	1904	10,456,000
<i>Jew. Encyc.</i> . . . .	1905	11,273,076
A. Ruppin <sup>1</sup> . . . .	1911	11,558,610
I. Harris <sup>2</sup> . . . .	1913	12,134,179
Israel Cohen <sup>3</sup> . . . .	1914	13,523,559
J. Lestschinsky <sup>4</sup> . . . .	1925	14,830,832

<sup>1</sup> *Die Juden der Gegenwart.*<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Year-Book.*<sup>3</sup> *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, 1st edition.<sup>4</sup> *Blätter für Demographie, Statistik, und Wirtschaftskunde der Juden*, No. 5, 1925.

## APPENDIX II

### I.—IMMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA

#### (4) JEWISH IMMIGRANTS AND TOTAL NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1880-1927.

Fiscal Year, July 1-June 30.	Total Immigrants.	Jewish Immigrants.	Percentage of Total.
1880-81	669,431	8,193	1·2
1881-82	788,992	31,807	4·2
1882-83	603,322	6,907	1·2
1883-84	518,592	27,410	5·3
1884-85	395,346	36,214	9·0
1885-86	334,203	46,967	14·0
1886-87	490,109	56,412	11·5
1887-88	546,889	62,619	11·5
1888-89	444,427	55,851	12·6
1889-90	455,302	67,450	14·8
1890-91	560,319	111,284	20·0
1891-92	579,663	136,742	23·6
1892-93	439,730	68,569	15·5
1893-94	285,631	58,833	20·4
1894-95	258,536	65,309	26·1
1895-96	343,267	73,255	21·4
1896-97	230,832	43,434	18·0
1897-98	229,299	54,630	24·0
1898-99	311,715	37,415	12·0
1899-00	448,572	60,764	13·5
1900-01	487,918	58,098	12·5
1901-02	648,743	57,688	8·7
1902-03	857,046	76,203	8·8
1903-04	812,870	106,236	13·0
1904-05	1,026,499	129,910	12·6
1905-06	1,100,735	153,748	14·0
1906-07	1,285,349	149,192	11·6
1907-08	782,870	103,387	16·6
1908-09	751,786	57,551	7·7
1909-10	1,041,570	84,260	8·0
1910-11	878,587	91,223	10·3
1911-12	838,172	80,595	9·6

Fiscal Year, July 1-June 30.	Total Immigrants.	Jewish Immigrants.	Percentage of Total.
1912-13	1,197,892	101,330	8.4
1913-14	1,218,480	138,051	11.3
1914-15	326,700	26,497	8.1
1915-16	298,826	15,108	5.1
1916-17	295,403	17,342	5.8
1917-18	110,618	3,627	3.0
1918-19	141,132	3,055	2.6
1919-20	430,001	14,292	3.3
1920-21	805,228	119,036	14.7
1921-22	309,556	53,524	17.3
1922-23	522,919	49,719	9.5
1923-24	706,896	49,989	7.0
1924-25	294,314	10,292	3.5
1925-26	304,488	10,267	3.3
1926-27	335,175	11,483	3.4
Grand Total	26,743,950	2,881,758	10.7

(B) NET INCREASE THROUGH IMMIGRATION TO THE  
UNITED STATES, 1908-27

Fiscal Year, July 1- June 30.	Number Admitted.		Number Departed.		Net Increase.	
	Jews.	Total.	Jews.	Total.	Jews.	Total.
1907-08	103,387	782,870	7,702	395,073	95,685	387,797
1908-09	57,551	751,786	6,105	225,802	51,446	525,984
1909-10	84,260	1,041,570	5,689	202,436	78,571	839,134
1910-11	91,223	878,587	6,401	295,266	84,822	582,921
1911-12	80,595	838,172	7,418	333,262	73,177	504,910
1912-13	101,330	1,197,892	6,697	308,190	94,633	889,702
1913-14	138,051	1,218,480	6,826	303,338	131,225	915,142
1914-15	26,497	326,700	1,524	204,074	24,973	122,626
1915-16	15,108	298,826	199	129,765	14,909	169,061
1916-17	17,342	295,403	329	66,277	17,013	229,126
1917-18	3,627	110,618	687	94,585	2,940	16,033
1918-19	3,055	141,132	373	123,522	2,682	17,610
1919-20	14,292	430,001	358	288,315	13,934	141,686
1920-21	119,036	805,228	483	247,718	118,553	557,510
1921-22	53,524	309,556	830	198,712	52,694	110,844
1922-23	49,719	522,919	413	81,450	49,306	441,469
1923-24	49,989	706,896	260	76,789	49,729	630,107
1924-25	10,292	294,314	291	92,728	10,001	201,586
1925-26	10,267	304,488	341	76,992	9,926	227,496
1926-27	11,483	335,175	224	73,366	11,259	261,809
Grand Total	1,040,628	11,590,613	53,150	3,818,060	987,478	7,772,553

## (C) IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1901-27

Year. 1	Total Immigrants.	Jewish Immigrants.	Percentage of Total.
1901	49,149	2,765	5·6
1902	67,379	1,015	1·5
1903	128,364	2,066	1·6
1904	130,331	3,727	2·8
1905	146,266	7,715	5·2
1906	189,064	7,127	3·8
1907	124,667	6,584	5·2
1908	262,469	7,712	2·9
1909	146,908	1,636	1·1
1910	208,794	3,182	1·5
1911	311,084	5,146	1·6
1912	354,237	5,322	1·5
1913	402,432	7,387	1·8
1914	384,878	11,252	2·9
1915	144,789	3,107	2·1
1916	48,537	65	0·1
1917	75,374	136	0·1
1918	79,074	32	0·04
1919	57,702	22	0·04
1920	117,336	116	0·09
1921	148,477	2,763	1·9
1922	89,999	8,404	9·3
1923	72,887	2,793	3·8
1924	148,560	4,255	2·8
1925	111,362	4,459	4·0
1926	96,064	3,587	3·7
1927	143,991	4,471	3·11
Total	5,240,174	106,846	2·04

## II.—IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE

A record of immigration and emigration has been kept since April, 1919, but the Government kept no record of the religion of immigrants before May, 1921. There is a discrepancy between the immigration figures in the registers of the Zionist Executive and those of the Government, which is probably due partly to the fact that some immigrants "enter surreptitiously over the north-eastern frontier, which is exceedingly difficult to control" (Government Report for 1927), and others enter as tourists and subsequently register themselves as settlers. The difference between the two sets of figures relating to Jewish immigration can be seen from the following :

<sup>1</sup> Fiscal year ended June 30, for 1900-6, thereafter March 31.

Year.	Zionist Executive Figures.	Government Figures.	Difference. Total.	Arrivals via Syria and Transjordan.
1919 (Apl.-Dec.)	2,618	} 19,863	1,599	
1920	7,129			
1921	8,517			
1922	9,481	7,844	1,637	1,419
1923	9,478	7,421	2,057	1,707
1924	16,297	12,856	3,441	1,347
1925	36,933	33,801	3,132	1,166
1926	14,656	13,081	1,575	1,042
1927	3,450	2,713	737	545
	<u>108,559</u>	<u>97,559</u>	<u>10,980</u>	<u>7,226</u>

### JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION IN THE YEARS 1922-28 OFFICIAL FIGURES

Year.	Immigration.	Emigration.	Percentage.
Dec. 1919-June 1921	15,079	1,300	8
1921 (Jul.-Dec.)	4,784	946	19
1922	7,844	1,503	19
1923	7,421	3,466	47
1924	12,856	<i>circa</i> 2,037	16
1925	33,801	2,151	6
1926	13,081	7,365	57
1927	2,713	5,071	—
1928	2,178	2,178	—
Total	<u>99,757</u>	<u>26,017</u>	<u>26</u>



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